

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A.B.
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke from Dion. Halli.

VOL. VII.

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A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND



INSCRIBED TO

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire

By William Roper, A.B.

Dean of York Cathedral

Presented to the Museum
by the Duke of Devonshire

Vol. VI

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The Great Seal of Henry 2.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



THE
History of ENGLAND.



The HISTORY of HENRY II.
continued.



HE rigorous measures which Henry had taken, were so far from intimidating, that they served only to exasperate the primate, who, in revenge, excommunicated all those who adhered to the constitutions of Clarendon, and particularly such lords of the council * as had been most

A. 2

active

* These were Richard de Lucy, Richard of Poitiers, Jocelin de Baliol, Alan de Neville, John de Oxford, Richard de Ivecestre, Ranulph de Broc, Hugh de St. Clare, Thomas Fitzbernard, &c. *M. Paris.*

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active in procuring the constitutions to be enacted into laws. He likewise wrote a letter to his majesty, which it may not be improper to insert, as it strongly marks the character of the primate.

Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, to the king of England.

“ I Have most earnestly desired to see
“ you; and though in this I had some
“ selfish views, yet it was chiefly from a re-
“ gard to your interest. I was in hopes
“ that when you should see me again, you
“ would call to mind the many services I
“ have done you, with all possible duty and
“ affection. For the truth of this I appeal
“ to him who is to judge all mankind,
“ when they shall appear before his tribu-
“ nal, to be rewarded according to their
“ deeds. I flattered myself that you would
“ be moved with compassion for me, who
“ am driven to the necessity of begging my
“ bread in a strange land, though, by the
“ grace of God, I have plenty of all things
“ necessary for my subsistence. I receive,
“ however, great consolation from the
“ words of the apostle; they that live in
“ Christ shall suffer persecution: and like-
“ wise from that saying of the prophet; I
“ never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his
“ feed

“ feed begging their bread. As to what
“ concerns you, I must be sensibly affected
“ with it, for three reasons : first, because
“ you are my liege lord : secondly, because
“ you are my king : thirdly, because you
“ are my spiritual son. As my liege lord,
“ I owe and offer you my best advice ;
“ such, however, as is due from a bishop,
“ saving the honour of God, and the head
“ of the church. As my king, I owe you
“ a profound respect, and, withal, am
“ bound to direct my admonitions to you.
“ As my son, it is my duty to correct and
“ exhort you. Kings are anointed in three
“ places ; the head, the breast, and the
“ arms ; which denote glory, holiness, and
“ power. We find, from several instances
“ in scripture, that kings who despised the
“ commandments of the Lord, were de-
“ prived of glory, might, and understand-
“ ing ; such were Pharaoh, Saul, Solomon,
“ Nebuchadnezzar, and many others. On
“ the contrary, they that humbled them-
“ selves before God, received a larger mea-
“ sure of grace, and in much greater per-
“ fection. This was experienced by David,
“ Hezekiah, and some others. Take, there-
“ fore, my liege lord, the advice of your
“ vassal ; hearken, my king, to the admo-
“ nitions of your bishop ; and receive, my
“ son, the corrections of your father, lest

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“ you be drawn aside into schism, or per-
 “ suaded to hold communion with schisma-
 “ tics. All the world knows with what
 “ honour, and devotion, you received the
 “ pope ; how respectfully, and zealously,
 “ you protected the church of Rome ; and
 “ what suitable return the church and pope
 “ have made you. Remember, therefore,
 “ the declaration you made, and even laid
 “ upon the altar at your coronation, to
 “ protect the church of God in all her pri-
 “ vileges and immunities. Restore the
 “ church of Canterbury, from which you
 “ received your authority, to the state it
 “ was in under your predecessors and
 “ mine ; otherwise be assured, that you
 “ will draw down on your head the wrath
 “ and vengeance of God.”

This letter was but ill calculated to ap-
 pease the resentment of the incensed mo-
 narch, who could not bear to be treated with
 such indignity, by a man whom he had
 raised from the dunghill to the primacy of
 England. As he knew that the pope placed
 great dependance upon the assistance of the
 French king, he resolved to secure himself
 against any attempts which that monarch
 might make upon his dominions. With this
 view he levied a numerous army, which he
 kept in constant readiness to march at a
 moment's warning ; and this precaution
 seems

seems to have prevented his holiness from pushing matters to extremity. Mean while the bishop of London, and the other suffragans of the province of Canterbury, wrote to the primate, upbraiding him with his insolence in addressing his sovereign without the usual salutation, as if he had written to an inferior. They reminded him of the great obligations he owed his majesty, and taxed him with his arrogance, in daring to threaten a monarch so infinitely exalted above him. In fine, they told him that they appealed to the pope, from whatever he should act for the future against them or the kingdom, and appointed Ascension-day to produce the reasons of their appeal.

Towards the latter end of the year *, the king convoked an assembly of the bishops at Oxford, on account of some heretics lately arrived from Germany, and distinguished by the name of Publicans. Their errors related chiefly to the eucharist, baptism, and marriage, which they rejected with detestation. They came over to England, to the number of thirty; and, notwithstanding the ardour of their zeal, they had not been able to make above one convert. Being summoned to appear before the council, and give an account of their faith, they seemed equally ignorant and obstinate.

* A. D. 1165.

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stinate. They flatly refused to engage in any dispute for the defence of their tenets; for which, however, they professed themselves ready to suffer death. Accordingly they were declared heretics, and delivered over to the secular arm. The king ordered them to be scourged, and marked with a red-hot iron; and, by a proclamation, forbid all his subjects to receive them into their houses, or supply them with the necessaries of life; in consequence of which, every individual of these wretched enthusiasts, perished by cold and famine.

* Henry, at his departure from Normandy, had committed the government of his foreign dominions to queen Eleanor. The barons of Le Maine, despising the weakness of her sex, opposed her administration, and entered into a league for their mutual defence. The king, alarmed at the news of this conspiracy, immediately repaired to the continent; and, putting himself at the head of his army, advanced into Le Maine, where he soon reduced the malecontents to obedience, and obliged them to surrender their castles.

Conan, duke of Brittany, having been long harrassed with the continual revolts and insurrections of his subjects, who were a factious, turbulent, and restless people, resolved

resolved to give them a master who would humble their pride, and keep them in order. With this view he agreed to a match between his daughter Constance, and Henry's son Geoffrey, for whose use he made over to the king of England the whole duchy of Bretagne, except the county of Guingamp, which had belonged to his grandfather, Stephen Dorien, earl of Richmond. In consequence of this deed, Henry made a progress through the duchy, receiving the homage of the nobility; and having visited the fortifications of Combour and Doll, repaired to Mont St. Michel, where he was met by William king of Scotland, who had succeeded Malcolm, and Ninian, sovereign of the Western Isles, who came to learn the art of war in the English army.

About this time Henry imposed a tax upon all his dominions, for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, who had lately been defeated by the Saracens, and some of their chief leaders taken prisoners*.

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* This tax was to continue for five years. The first year it was fixed at the rate of two pence in the pound, and the four following at one penny in the pound, throughout all Henry's foreign dominions. Every person was obliged to swear to the value of his goods, and to pay accordingly. Besides, a strong box, with three locks, was placed in every church, for receiving the charitable contributions of the people.

The

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He soon after had a conference at Tours, with Theobald count of Blois, and Matthew count of Boulogne, to the former of whom he granted a pension of five hundred pounds, and to the latter a pension of a thousand, in lieu of some territories to which they laid claim.

These pacific measures were the more necessary, as Henry had every thing to fear from the resentment of Becket, who loudly threatened to lay the king and kingdom of England under an interdict. From this violent step, however, he was for some time restrained by the authority of the pope; who dreaded, that, if matters should be carried to extremities, Henry would join his new ally, the emperor of Germany, in supporting Guy de Crema, the anti-pope; and he was not yet so firmly established in the papal chair, as to be able to withstand the efforts of such a powerful alliance.

Becket, thus checked in his furious career, growled like a bear in the toils. He raised a terrible clamour in all places, by his letters and emissaries; asserting, that his cause was the cause of God; and that Christ was judged in his person before a lay-tribunal, and crucified again in his sufferings.

The manner in which it was raised in England, is not distinctly ascertained: M. Paris says it was at the rate of four pence for every plough-land.

ings. He represented his departure out of England, as the effect of the most cruel and violent persecution; though, in fact, he had only fled to avoid the payment of his just debts. He declared the constitutions of Clarendon, to be contrary to the Christian faith, because contrary to the immunities of the church. He wrote insolent letters to the king himself, affirming that he derived all his power from the church; that priests were exempt from human laws; that the secular, ought always to be subject to the ecclesiastical power; and that, therefore, Henry ought to part with the ancient customs and regalities of his crown*.

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* Christ did not come into the world to make any alteration in the forms of civil government then established, nor to assume to himself the character of a legislator: this he expressly disclaimed, by declaring, "that his kingdom was not of this world." Hence we find, that the church had, originally, no power of judging in civil causes, but confined herself entirely to matters of faith and religion. All her authority lay in administering or refusing the sacraments, in enjoining or relaxing penance, and in pronouncing or removing sentences of suspension and excommunication. Whatever judicial power is now possessed by the church, in any part of christendom, was originally derived from the grants of princes. During the first five centuries, all ecclesiastics were tried before a lay-magistrate, in causes of a civil or criminal nature; nor was there any exemption, in favour of bishops, till the time of Justinian, who first granted them the privilege of not pleading

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In this manner did Becket gratify his pride and resentment, till Alexander had established

pleading in a civil court ; but though he enlarged their jurisdiction, he still reserved the right of appeals to himself.

It is evident, from the very nature of the penalties, that pecuniary mulcts, imprisonments, mutilation of members, and other corporal punishments, must be derived from the civil power ; and as to ecclesiastical causes, it appears from the Theodosian and Justinian codes, that the emperors inflicted temporal penalties, even in the case of heresy. Princes ever had, from time immemorial, a power of punishing the crimes of their subjects ; nor can this power be annulled by any censures of the church.

Giannone, in his *Hist. di Napoli*, asserts that the popes had not, even in Rome itself, the "*jus carceris*," or a power of imprisoning, till it was granted them by Charlemagne, who, by giving them territories to support their dignity, laid the foundation of their temporal grandeur. Other princes, in imitation of his example, conferred the same right upon other prelates. But in England, where the bishops exercised the judicial power in conjunction with the civil magistrate, they had no such right till towards the latter end of the conqueror's reign, when the two judicatures were separated. The matters cognizable in the ecclesiastical court were then fixed : and certain regulations were made, to prevent any interference between it and the civil jurisdiction. Of these regulations, there are still some traces to be found in the constitutions of Clarendon, all of which are either the customs of the ancient Saxons, or institutions established by the conqueror at the time of his introducing the papal authority into England.

These barriers of the civil power, were extremely disagreeable to the popes, who greedily embraced every opportunity

established himself on the papal throne ; which he had no sooner done, than he bestowed upon him the primacy of England, and gave him a full liberty to proceed to the utmost extremity of church-censure.

Becket having obtained this permission, immediately repaired to Soissons, where he watched all night at the shrine of St. Draufius, a ceremony which was supposed to render the probationer invincible. Thus confirmed in his resolution, he posted to Vezelay, in order to thunder out a sentence of excommunication against the king of England, and his ministers. But hearing that Henry was dangerously ill, he contented himself with excommunicating such of the king's ministers as had been concerned in sequestering the revenues of the see of Canterbury, together with all those who

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obeyed,

opportunity of destroying their authority, by enacting canons which they dignified with the title of divine laws, and to which the customs and institutions of all countries, as being merely of human invention, were necessarily to give way. But, sure, no monarchy or civil constitution can possibly subsist upon such a footing ; nor can there be a greater absurdity in politics, than to suppose that the laws of a land are repealed, whenever a pope or council take it into their heads to enact any thing to the contrary. And yet, upon this absurd pretence was founded all the opposition which Becket, and his adherents, made to the constitutions of Clarendon.

obeyed, favoured, or executed the constitutions of Clarendon, which he took upon him to annul; absolving, at the same time, all the barons and prelates from the oath they had taken to observe them. He likewise wrote a letter to the king himself, threatening him with the highest censures of the church, if he would not immediately repent, and make reparation to the clergy he had injured.

A sentence of excommunication was, in those times of ignorance and superstition, a most dreadful punishment. Besides depriving the person thus stigmatized of the use of the sacraments, and other religious privileges, it expelled him, in a manner, from the bosom of civil society. His character was considered as infamous and detestable, and every one shunned him as if he had been infected with the plague; so that it was almost as terrible as what the Romans called interdicting from fire and water. But Becket was so universally hated in the nation, that his anathema had little effect; few people chusing to publish his sentence, and fewer still to regard it. Henry, however, was so incensed at the presumption of the primate, that he wrote to the chapter of the Cisterrians at Pontigny, threatening to seize all their estates throughout his dominions, if they should continue any longer to maintain

maintain Becket in their abbey; so that he was obliged to leave the convent and return to Sens, where he was hospitably entertained by the king of France, from whom he received a pension for two years in the monastery of St. Colombe.*

Becket, being informed of the little regard that was paid to his sentence of excommunication, resolved to strengthen his authority by the additional title of legate of England, which he now solicited and obtained from the pope. No sooner was he vested with this important character, than he began to exercise his legatine powers. Accordingly, while the bishop of London was at the high altar celebrating the festival of St. Paul, he received from an unknown hand, authentic copies of Becket's letters, and of his bull of legation, which he ordered him to transmit to all the prelates of the realm, notifying his legatine authority, and enjoining them to restore all his clergy to their benefices, within two months, on pain of excommunication, without benefit of appeal.

This mandate, issued out by a legate, and confirmed by the pope, laid the bishop under great difficulties, being either obliged to comply with the order, or incur the censure of disobedience. But before the day

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prefixed for the execution of the mandate arrived, the bishop was rid of his fears by the address of John de Oxford, who, together with John Cumin and Ralph de Tamworth, had been sent to Rome by the English bishops and clergy, to notify their appeal to the pope, and implore the protection of his holiness. They had represented to Alexander, the great ease with which an accommodation might be effected between the king and the primate; and he was so highly pleased with the proposal itself, and the arguments they used on the subject, that he suspended all the effects of Becket's censures, and sent the cardinals William of Pavia, and Otho, into Normandy, to labour a pacification.

Mean while, a war broke out between France and England. William, count of Auvergne, having disinherited his nephew, had promised to refer the matter to the arbitration of Henry; but, instead of keeping his word, he had gone to the king of France, and endeavoured to set the two monarchs at variance. Henry, provoked at this insult, fell upon the count's territories; and Lewis, in revenge, invaded the Vexin Normand, which he ravaged with great barbarity. Soon after, the two sovereigns had a conference on the subject of a treaty; but the French nobility being averse from an accom-

accommodation, the war was renewed with fresh fury. Lewis penetrated into Normandy, and burnt several villages between Mante and Pacey; and Henry, in return, surprized and destroyed Chamont, near Gisors, which was the French magazine both for money and provisions. At last, both kings being equally weary of a war, which, without procuring any real advantage to either party, subjected the country to such cruel ravages, agreed to a suspension of arms, to continue till the Easter following. During this truce, Henry marched into Brittany, and reduced Guiomar, viscount of Leon, who had revolted. While he was in this country, he received the news of his mother's death, who died at Roüen on the tenth of September, and was buried in the abbey of Bec, to which she had been a generous benefactress.

At length the cardinals William de Pavia and Otho, arrived at Caen in Normandy, where they found the king with a number of his prelates and abbots. Henry imagined the legates were furnished with full powers to put a final period to the dispute. And, indeed, they had such powers at their departure from Rome; but the pope, influenced by Becket's complaints against the legates, on account of their supposed attachment to the king, and the pressing instances

of the court of France in his favour, sent them letters by the road, limiting their commission, and prohibiting them from going over to England, till once a reconciliation should be effected. This circumstance provoked Henry to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty he could be prevailed upon to agree to any conference on the subject. However, as the pope had wrote to Becket, exhorting him to make hearty advances towards a peace, the legates met him between Trie and Gisors, where, when they begged to know upon what terms he was willing to treat, he flatly refused to enter into particulars. They then proposed, that in order to re-establish the peace of the church, he should resign the see of Canterbury, provided the king would repeal the constitutions of Clarendon; but he haughtily refused the proposal, declaring that he would listen to no terms of agreement, until he and his clergy should be restored.

The legates finding him inflexible, returned to the king, who was now at Argenton, to give him an account of their negotiation. The English bishops took this opportunity to acquaint the cardinals with the many encroachments which Becket had made upon their authority, and with his disloyal conduct towards his sovereign. They told them that he was indebted to the crown,
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in the sum of forty thousand marks, which he had received whilst chancellor; and which he now refused to pay, on the frivolous pretence of his not having been called to an account for it, before his advancement to the see of Canterbury; as if, forsooth, all debts were wiped off by a promotion, in the same manner as sins are pardoned by baptism. They likewise renewed their appeal, the term of which was now almost expired, and received appellatories from the legates, who signified to Becket that he should not pass any censure upon the king, prelates, or realm of England, without the express direction of the pope.

Henry, vexed at the bad success of this negociation, desired the cardinals to inform Alexander of Becket's intolerable pride and arrogance, and to demand, in his name, that he should be removed out of his dominions: he sent Henry Pichum, and Reginald, son to the bishop of Sarum, to solicit the court of Rome on the same subject; and he likewise insinuated, that though he had hitherto resisted all the importunities of the emperor, in favour of the anti-pope Guy de Crema; yet, should his request be denied, he did not know what measures he might be tempted to pursue. Immediately after this the legates set out for Paris, in order to execute the other part of their commission, which

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which related to a peace between the courts of France and England; an attempt in which they were as unsuccessful as they had been in the former.

The barons of Poitou and Guienne, had long entertained a secret grudge at Henry, either on account of his having invaded some of their old privileges, or refused to grant them some new concessions; and Lewis had inflamed their discontent to such a degree, by his invidious suggestions, and buoyed up their hopes with such promises of assistance, that the counts of Angoulesme and la Marche, the viscount de Touars, Aimery de Lusignan, Robert and Hugh de Silly, with several other barons, broke out in open rebellion, and ravaged the country with great barbarity.* Henry had the more reason to be incensed at this perfidious conduct of the French monarch, as the truce between the two crowns was not yet expired. He immediately put himself at the head of his troops, and, marching against the rebels, took their castles, destroyed their towns, and reduced them to such a low condition, that nothing hindered their entire submission, but the hostages they had delivered to Lewis, and the engagements they had made with that monarch,

* A. D. 1168.

monarch, not to lay down their arms without his consent.

In order to remove this obstacle, Henry having left garrisons in the castles he had taken, and committed the government of the country to his queen, and Patrick D'Evereux, earl of Salisbury, went to have an interview with Lewis, between Mante and Pacey, hoping to establish a solid peace, or at least renew the truce, which was drawing towards an end. In this conference, he loudly complained of the base methods which Lewis had taken to debauch his subjects, and boldly demanded the hostages of the Poitevins; but Lewis refusing to grant his request, he could only obtain a renewal of the truce, which was to continue till the month of June.

Notwithstanding the care which Henry had taken to secure the tranquillity of Poitou during his absence, he had hardly set out for the conference, when the barons of that country again revolted, and slew the earl of Salisbury in a most treacherous manner: an act of barbarity for which he would have taken immediate vengeance on Guy de Lusignan, and the other accomplices in the murder, had he not been obliged to suspend his indignation, and turn his arms against the barons of Brittany, who had refused to obey

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obey his orders when they were summoned to his assistance.

Eudo, viscount of Porhoet, was one of the most powerful noblemen of Brittany. Henry, conscious of his great influence and abilities, had loaded him with a profusion of favours, hoping by that means to attach him to his interest. But nothing less would satisfy him than the government of the whole province, which he claimed in right of his late wife. In consequence of this ambitious claim, which he endeavoured to assert upon all occasions, Henry had expelled him the county.

A subject that has interest enough to excite such commotions as endanger the throne of his sovereign, will never want encouragement and protection from the enemies of his country. Eudo repaired to the court of France, where he was hospitably entertained by Lewis, who encouraged him to form a conspiracy against the government of the king of England. He accordingly prevailed upon Oliver de Dinan, and his cousin Roland, together with several other lords of Brittany, to engage in the design. A treaty was concluded with France, and hostages were delivered, as in the case of Poitou; so that, in a short time, an universal rebellion ensued, the intention of which was

was to free Brittany from its subjection to the English crown.

Henry, whose vigilance was not to be surprized by the most sudden revolts, nor his courage daunted by the most formidable conspiracies, immediately advanced into Brittany, took and demolished the castles of Jocelin and Abrahi, the two strongest fortresses which Eudo possessed, reduced and ravaged all the country of Porhoet, Dinan, and St. Malo, stormed the castles of Hedde and Bocherel, dismantled that of Tintigny, and would soon have subdued the whole country, had he not been called off from his conquests to meet the king of France at La Ferte Bernard, whither he forthwith repaired, in hopes of renewing the truce, if a peace could not be concluded. From the result of this interview, it is natural to suppose that Lewis had no other design in it, than to interrupt the progress of Henry's arms; for when Henry insisted upon the restitution of the hostages, Lewis still refused to comply with his demand, so that the conference soon broke up, and the war was renewed with fresh vigour.

Henry, not chusing to contend with so many enemies at once, resolved to gain over Matthew count of Boulogne, who was one of the most troublesome. This nobleman, having been refused the county of Mortagne,

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tagne, to which he laid claim, had, in the course of the preceeding year, equipped a fleet of six hundred ships, in order to invade England; an attempt which was happily defeated by the vigilance of Richard de Luce, chief justiciary and guardian of the realm. Henry now gratified him with a considerable pension, in lieu of his pretensions to the county of Mortagne, and prevailed upon him to come to his assistance, with a number of auxiliary knights. Matthew being denied a passage for his troops, through the territories of John count of Ponthieu, was obliged to transport them by sea; and Henry was so incensed at this refusal, that he invaded John's dominions, laid waste the country, and reduced above forty towns to ashes.

While he was thus employed, Lewis made a sudden incursion into Normandy, where he surprized and burnt the castle of Chesnebrun, near Vernueil; but Henry advancing against him, he retreated with great precipitation, though not before he had lost a considerable number of men, and, among others, the seneschal of the court of Flanders, who was taken prisoner by the English army. In these and the like skirmishes, was the war carried on without any action of importance; for though the two kings commanded their respective armies, and were
equally

equally famous for their courage and conduct, they both industriously avoided a general engagement.

It was no small proof of Henry's prudence, that, beset as he was by so many enemies, he refused the offers of the emperor and princes of Germany, who undertook to make a diversion in his favour, by invading France with a powerful army. This proposal he modestly declined, well knowing they expected that he would declare in favour of the anti-pope, in consideration of these succours; and he had already suffered too much from religious quarrels, to involve himself in fresh disputes of that nature.

About this time queen Eleanor went over to England, to make preparations for the marriage of her daughter Maude, with the duke of Saxony, to whom she had formerly been contracted; and to receive the elector of Cologne, and the other ambassadors, who had come to conduct her to her husband. The young princess was accordingly sent into Germany, with a prodigious sum for her portion, levied by a general tax upon all the knights fees in England, and by a fine of five thousand marks, exacted from the Jews allowed to reside in the kingdom.

The pope's affairs being now in a flourishing condition, and the king of France

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continuing to importune him in favour of Becket, the pontiff was at last prevailed with to allow that rancorous prelate to proceed to the extremity of church-censure against the king and realm of England, if, within a limited time, he and his clergy should not be restored to their benefices. Becket did not fail to avail himself of this permission. The time prefixed was no sooner expired, than he excommunicated some of the king's ministers, without form of law or citation; and, notwithstanding their second appeal, Ralph, archdeacon of Landaff, was sent to Rome, to procure absolution for the person thus censured; and it was expected that Gratian and Vivian, whom the pope commissioned to treat with Henry about Becket's restitution, would be empowered to mitigate the sentence.

These nuncios arrived in the month of August, at Danfront in Normandy, where they delivered letters from the pope to the king, pressing him to restore the archbishop to his favour, and referring him to the bearers for a further explanation of his desires. Henry, having conferred with the nuncios, convoked an assembly of his prelates at Bayeux, where he declared, that, notwithstanding the many provocations he had received from Becket; yet, out of regard to the pope, he was willing to be reconciled

conciled to him and his clergy, provided the nuncios would absolve his ministers that were then present, and go over to England to absolve those who had been excommunicated in that country.

To this proposal the nuncios made several objections; nor could they be prevailed upon to comply, till Henry had fixed a day on which the reconciliation should take place. In this agreement, which was immediately committed to writing, the king inserted a salvo for the dignity of his kingdom. The primate's partizans, well knowing the dangerous use which they themselves had frequently made of their salvos for the dignity of the church, objected against such a clause, as tending to establish the constitutions of Clarendon, and to banish the papal authority out of England. The nuncios insisted upon its being expunged, otherwise they retracted their promise. Routrou, archbishop of Roüen, proposed that another should be substituted in its place, by which the king should engage to restore Becket to his see, and his clergy to their benefices, in as full and ample a manner as they had enjoyed them before they left the kingdom.

To this amendment Henry readily agreed, provided his salvo should remain; but Becket's friends insisted upon its being re-

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moved; and the nuncios finding both parties inflexible, gave up all hopes of effecting an accommodation. The prelates who assisted at the conference, wrote to the pope in favour of the clause; and Henry sent Reginald de Salisbury, and Richard Barre, to the court of Rome, in support of the same article; ordering them to acquaint his holiness, that, if he would not absolve those whom Becket had excommunicated, and prevent the like censures for the future, he should be obliged to provide for his own honour and security in another manner.

Henry, imagining that the instances of the French court were the chief obstacles that prevented an accommodation with the Roman pontiff, resolved to compromise all his differences with Lewis; a work which he happily accomplished, in a conference which he soon after had with that monarch, at Montmirail. He had already made over Normandy, Le Maine, and Anjou, to his eldest son Henry; Poitou and Guienne, to his son Richard; and Bretagne to Geoffry, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and did homage to his elder brother. Lewis, as sovereign of all these fiefs, confirmed this disposition; and young Henry swore fealty to his father-in-law, and to the young prince of France, Philip Augustus, for Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, having
taken

taken the oaths for Normandy on a former occasion. Richard, who was contracted to Adelais, another of Lewis's daughters, did homage for Guienne. Henry himself was restored to the office of high-steward of France, which had been long hereditary in the house of Anjou, and on Candlemas-day he served Lewis at table in that character.

In consequence of this treaty, Geoffry repaired to Rennes, where he received the homage of the Bretons ; and as Henry was not restrained by any article of the agreement from punishing the revolted barons of Poitou and Guienne, he marched into those provinces, demolished their castles, overran their estates, and obliged the counts of Angoulesme and La March, with the lesser nobility, to return to their allegiance. Then returning to Normandy, he built the strong fortrefs of Beauvoir, in Lions ; made broad and deep trenches on the borders of his Norman dominions, to prevent the sudden incursions of his enemies ; established fisheries on the river Mayenne ; ordered high and strong banks to be raised along the north side of the river Loire, to confine it within its channel ; and built houses, at proper distances, for the habitation of those whom he appointed to keep the work in order, granting them, at the same time,

some special privileges, particularly an exemption from taxes and personal service,

Lewis was now so heartily reconciled to Henry, that he endeavoured to mediate a peace between him and the archbishop. When the treaty was ratified at Montmirail, Lewis prevailed upon Becket, who was on the spot, not to mention the constitutions of Clarendon, as they had already been condemned by the pope, and as all the people of England had been absolved from the oaths they had taken to observe them. He had even persuaded him to throw himself at Henry's feet, and refer the terms of reconciliation to his royal pleasure, as the most likely method of regaining his favour; but when he was introduced into the king's presence, he still clogged his submission with his usual salvo, of the honour of God and the liberty of the church. Henry, well knowing to what pernicious purposes this salvo might be applied, flatly refused to admit of such an evasive subterfuge. Then, turning to the king of France, he inveighed bitterly against Becket's pride, arrogance, and presumption; and, in order to vindicate himself from the injurious aspersions which the primate had thrown upon his character, as if he intended to invade the privileges of the church, and abolish the papal authority in England, he made the follow-

following proposal: "there have," said he,
 "been several kings of England, possessed
 "of less power than myself; there have
 "been many archbishops of Canterbury,
 "much greater and holier men than Tho-
 "mas Becket; yet will I be satisfied, if he
 "will promise to pay me the same regard,
 "which the most powerful of his prede-
 "cessors have, at any time, paid to the
 "least powerful of mine. I did not banish
 "him out of the kingdom; he left it pri-
 "vately, and of his own accord. I have
 "always been, and still am, willing to re-
 "store him to his see, and to the enjoy-
 "ment of all those privileges and immuni-
 "ties which have ever been possessed by
 "any former primate of England." *

This proposal was so just and reasonable,
 that the king of France, together with his
 prelates and nobility, warmly exhorted the
 archbishop to embrace it; but this he re-
 fused to do, on the absurd pretence, that,
 as the affair was now before the pope, he
 could not agree to any thing without the
 consent of his holiness. Several of the
 French nobility were so much surprized at
 his pride and obstinacy, that they openly
 condemned his conduct; and exclaimed,
 that since he had rejected such equitable
 terms, he deserved no protection, nor should
 be

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be allowed to reside within the dominions of either France or England. The two kings parted at night, without taking the least notice of Becket; and Lewis, for some days, neither made him a visit nor supplied him with provisions; but this seems only to have been a piece of dissimulation; for finding his account in fomenting the troubles of England, he soon after admitted him into his former place of familiarity and friendship. It was to no purpose that Henry sent the bishop of Seez, and Geoffry Ridel, to expostulate with the French king, upon his maintaining and patronizing a man who had rejected such reasonable proposals: Lewis replied, that as Henry seemed so firmly attached to the customs of his ancestors, so he would exercise that right of hospitality which he inherited with his crown.*

Becket, relying on the friendship and protection of the French monarch, resolved to proceed to the utmost extremity of church censure, against the king and realm of England; a step which he had hitherto been re-

* The customs to which Henry was attached, formed the very basis of the English constitution. The right of hospitality which Lewis adhered to, was no other than the right of exciting troubles and commotions among his neighbours. Was the conduct of the two kings equally justifiable? But the French had even then learned the art of colouring over the most perfidious actions with the most specious pretences.

restrained from taking, by the inhibition of the pope. While the nuncios were in Normandy, he had consented to their suspending the sentence of excommunication against Geoffrey Ridel, Nigel de Sackville, and others of the king's ministers ; but it was only for a time, and on condition that the peace between the king and him should be compleated, before their departure from France. The conference having proved ineffectual, Gratian, who was entirely in Becket's interest, set out for Italy, and made such a representation to the pope, that this pontiff, who was still farther provoked at the king's threatening letter, wrote to the archbishop, that if he and his clergy should not be restored before the beginning of Lent, he might exercise his legatine powers without restriction.

Becket did not fail to make use of this licence, as well against Geoffrey, Nigel, and the rest who had been absolved for the time specified, as against others whom he now excommunicated, for seizing his effects and those of his clergy, receiving benefices from the hands of laymen, obstructing his own or the pope's messengers in the execution of their office, and abetting the customs of the realm in opposition to the canons of the church. He likewise issued a provisional interdict, upon the province of Canterbury ;
and

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and actually excommunicated, without citation or form of law, the bishops of London and Salisbury, at the same time threatening all his enemies with the like sentence, if they would not make immediate satisfaction to him and his clergy.

The bishop of London, apprehensive of some such sentence, had lodged an appeal before it was issued, agreeable to the constitution of pope Sixtus; but finding it denounced, notwithstanding that precaution, he summoned the clergy of his diocese to join him in a new appeal; a measure in which they all readily concurred, except the canons of St. Bartholomew, St. Trinity, and St. Martin le Grand.

The king, who was then in Guienne, being informed of these proceedings, immediately wrote to the pope, desiring him to annul those rash and irregular sentences; and offered to defray the expences of the bishop's journey to Rome, for which place he forthwith set out, in order to justify his appeal. But when, in the course of his journey, he came into the province of Burgundy, he found the roads so beset with Becket's friends, who lay in wait to intercept him, that he was obliged to change his route, and travel through Provence, and over the Alps to Milan. Upon his arrival at this place, he received a letter from the pope,

pope, containing an order for Routrou, archbishop of Rouen, to give him absolution. Accordingly he returned to Normandy, and was absolved on the festival of Easter.

Alexander, on this occasion, was rather influenced by the maxims of policy and prudence, than by the natural mildness and lenity of his temper. He knew that Henry was a prince of great authority and resolution; beloved by his subjects, respected by his enemies, jealous of his honour, and tenacious of the rights of his crown, which he was determined not to part with on any account. He plainly perceived that the interdict had produced little or no effect in England, and that the sentences of excommunication were utterly disregarded. Divine service was still performed in all the churches within the province of Canterbury. Nobody avoided the company, or refused the kiss, of those who were excommunicated. The magistrates still continued to execute the laws, and to administer justice, with their usual regularity. The officers of the revenue, collected the rents of Canterbury and other sequestered churches, and the king's presentations to the vacant benefices, were duly admitted. From all these circumstances the pope inferred, that, should matters be carried to extremity, the papal authority might possibly be abolished in England;

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England ; and he therefore resolved to proceed by the more gentle methods of treaty and negotiation.

With this view, he endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the king and Becket, by means of the bishop of Bellay, and the prior of the Carthusians ; but failing in this attempt, he sent a commission to Simeon, prior of Montdieu, and Bernard de Corilo, of the order of Grandmont, to labour an accommodation ; giving them, at the same time, two letters to the king, to be used occasionally. In the first of these letters, the pope exhorted him to restore Becket to his see ; and, in hopes of that restoration, suspended the censures of the primate, whom he likewise prohibited from issuing any new sentences against Henry or his subjects. In the other, which was only to be delivered in case the first should produce no effect, he threatened to let Becket loose upon him ; and to allow that revengeful prelate, to exert all his ecclesiastical power without restriction.

The two delegates arriving at Montmirail in the month of August, the conferences were again opened in presence of the king of France, attended by his lords and prelates, who all joined in advising Becket to humble himself before his sovereign, and sue for a reconciliation. It was with great difficulty

difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to comply with their request. At last, however, he made a kind of submission, though still clogged with his old salvos, of the honour of God, and his own order. But Henry would admit of no such evasion, and the negociation was accordingly interrupted. Both parties were equally inflexible in the second conference, which was held soon after, and in which the pope's comminatory letter was delivered to Henry, who said he would consult the bishops of England upon the subject, but fixed no day for an answer; so that all hopes of a reconciliation entirely vanished *.

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* This contest furnishes us with a striking proof of the fatal effects of deviating from ancient forms, and introducing new precedents. In the Saxon times, the clergy and laity took the oath of allegiance, in the same form of words, without any variation. This form continued from the conquest till the time of Henry I. when Anselm scrupled to take the oath, on pretence of its being contrary to some papal decrees; and ecclesiastical canons, made since the accession of William Rufus.

Other prelates, in imitation of his example, began to entertain the same scruples; and to the oath of fealty which they took to the king, they added a clause for saving their order, and the honour of God. This, at first, was probably considered as no more than a harmless expedient, for satisfying the tender consciences of some weak but well-meaning bishops, whom the king was willing to oblige, little thinking they would

ever

As the pope, when he absolved Becket from the oath he had taken to observe the constitutions of Clarendon, had exacted a promise from him that he would never enter into any new obligations, without a salvo for the honour of God and his own order, the audience in general condemned Henry's inflexibility; and the archbishop of Rheims, with several other French prelates, advised the

ever make it a pretence for invalidating their oath of allegiance; for denying such prerogatives of the crown, as did not tally with their interest; and for violating the laws of the land, whenever they seemed to clash with papal decrees or canons.

Whether this clause was introduced in the reign of Henry I. or at the accession of Stephen, when the prelates dictated the terms in which they would swear allegiance, is a point that cannot be easily determined; but having prevailed for some time, it came at last to acquire the force of a law, by the constitutions of Clarendon; in one of which the prelates are said, before their consecration, to take the oath of fealty "with a saving of their order." Hence it appears that Henry, by opposing this clause, did not mean to prevent the introduction of a new custom, but to abolish an old one; but when it is considered that he wanted to abolish it, because it was applied to a purpose which it was never meant to serve; namely, to invade the prerogatives of the crown, and even the privileges of the people; and that Becket endeavoured to support it for no other reason, but because it furnished him with a handle to effect these wicked ends; the reader will then be able to judge, whether the conduct of the king, or the primate, was most to be condemned.

the pope to support Becket to the last extremity.*

The king, knowing the interest which these prelates had at the court of Rome, and dreading the fatal consequences of the pope's resentment, immediately dispatched some agents to his holiness, to solicit a further respite from ecclesiastical censure, until other measures could be taken for effecting a reconciliation. The pope granted his request; but as Henry was uncertain of the event of the negotiation, he thought proper to send orders into England, to enforce the regulations which had lately been made to prevent the bad effects of an interdiction.

He fixed the thirteenth of January, as the time before which all the English clergy abroad should return; and the ninth of October, as the term after which it should be criminal to appeal to the pope or the arch-

D z bishop,

* And, forsooth, because the pope had exacted a promise of Becket, that he would never bring himself under any obligations to observe the laws of the land, without reserving in his own hands a power of violating these laws, whenever it suited his interest or his inclination, Henry must be accused of obstinacy, for refusing to indulge a subject with such a dangerous liberty; excellent reasoning truly! Is it not strange that most of our historians have mentioned this fact, as if they thought the king ought to be blamed, and the primate commended?

bishop, or to obey any of their mandates ; and if, after this term, any person should be found bringing into England, letter, mandate, or interdict, either from Alexander or Becket, he should be punished as a traitor to the king and kingdom. But if, notwithstanding this precaution, an interdict should be brought into the kingdom, all persons observing it should be banished, with their kindred, and forfeit their estates ; and the sheriffs of counties were directed to exact an oath from all the subjects in the nation, above the age of fifteen, that they would obey these orders.

These rigorous measures, however necessary, were extremely disagreeable to the lenity of Henry's temper. He therefore resolved to get rid of this troublesome affair at once, by recalling the archbishop without any conditions, wisely judging that he should be better able to manage that haughty prelate in his own kingdom, than while he enjoyed the protection of foreign potentates. This resolution, however, was so contrary to what he had declared in the last conference, that he was ashamed to move for another. Pretending, therefore, to make a pilgrimage to St. Denis, he surprized the king of France with a visit at Montmartre, in the neighbourhood of Paris. In this interview, the discourse happening to turn upon the liberties

erties of the church, as not at all incompatible with the royal authority, the French prelates who were present, warmly interceded for the restoration of Becket, to which Henry expressed no aversion. In order to improve this favourable opportunity, they prevailed upon Becket, who was in an adjoining apartment, to draw up a petition, specifying all his demands. These imported that he should be restored to his see, in as full and ample a manner as he had enjoyed it before his exile; that all those who had followed him abroad, should recover their livings and estates; and that he should have the disposal of all the benefices and prebends belonging to the see of Canterbury, that had fallen vacant during his absence.

To the two first articles Henry readily assented, but objected to the last; because he had already filled up these vacancies, and could not, consistently with the dignity of his crown, reverse his own acts. In order, however, to manifest his inclination to peace, he offered to present him with a thousand marks to defray the expences of his return, and to refer the points in controversy to the determination of the French peers, the Gallican church, or the university of Paris.

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All the members of the assembly, applauded the proposal; and Becket agreed to wave his other demands, provided the king would give him security for the performance of the agreement. When Lewis represented to him the indecency of requiring security from his lord and sovereign, he said he would be satisfied with a kiss of peace; but this Henry refused to grant him; alledging, in excuse, that he had sworn in his wrath never to kiss the archbishop, even though a reconciliation should be effected; and adding, at the same time, that it was from a regard to this oath, and not from any rancour or resentment he bore the primate, that he declined the proposal.

Becket imagining, from Henry's ready compliance in other points, that he found a reconciliation indispensably necessary to his interest, rejected a peace upon any other terms, hoping he should be able by his obstinacy to force him to be guilty of perjury, in the presence of such an august assembly. But he was disappointed in his expectations. Henry was neither reduced to such distress, as to stand in need of his friendship; nor was his spirit so broken, as to condescend to an act at once so base and so wicked. However, as he was desirous of a peace upon honourable terms, he immediately dispatched

ed John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury, and the archdeacons of Rouen and Seez, to Rome, to acquaint the pope with the result of the conference, and to assure him of his readiness to restore the archbishop; and, in order to remove the only remaining obstacle, he proposed that his eldest son should, in his stead, give the kiss of peace to Becket.

Alexander was pleased with the terms which Henry had offered, and immediately sent a commission to Routrou, archbishop of Rouen, and Bernard, bishop of Nevers, to put a finishing hand to the treaty *. They were instructed to wait upon the king within a month after the receipt of their commission, and admonish him to give Becket the kiss of peace, in token of his reconciliation, as the pope absolved him from the rash oath he had made; but, should he still refuse to agree to that condition, they were directed to advise the archbishop to accept the kiss of his son Henry, as an equivalent. If the king could not be persuaded to pay the thousand marks he had promised, the peace was not to be retarded on that account; but if, within forty days after they should have communicated their commission, and the pope's monitory letter to his majesty, he should refuse to execute the other articles

he

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he had engaged to perform, they were then ordered to lay an interdict, without appeal, on all his foreign dominions, where it was likely to have a greater effect than in England. The term of forty days, prescribed by these instructions, was afterwards prolonged upon advice of the king's having gone over to England, where he arrived on the third of March, after a very dangerous passage, in which he lost between four and five hundred of his retinue, and had well nigh been shipwrecked himself.

Henry had now been about four years out of the kingdom, during which time the sheriffs of counties had continued in office, and the attention of the government being wholly engrossed by the affair of Becket, their conduct had not been inspected; in consequence of which, many abuses had crept into the management of the public revenue, and the people suffered the most grievous oppressions. To remedy these evils, Henry convoked a great council at Windsor, in which the kingdom was divided into circuits, and a number of abbots, earls, barons, knights, and other commissioners*, were

* Sir William Dugdale, and some other antiquaries, have given us the names of these commissioners, whom they represent as the first itinerant justices ever known in England. But this seems to be a mistake; for Mad-dox informs us, that there were itinerant justices in the

were appointed to make a progress through these divisions, and take security of all sheriffs, bailiffs, and inferior officers, that they would appear in the king's court on a certain day, and give an account of their conduct. They accordingly made their appearance, and, having undergone a severe examination, were for the most part turned out of their offices.*

But

the reign of king Stephen, and gives us a long list of their names, as a specimen of which the reader may take the following: in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, G. de Clinton, and Ralph Bassett: in Yorkshire, W. Espec, Eustace Fitz-John, and G. de Clinton: in Hertfordshire, Richard Bassett: in Gloucestershire, Miles of Gloucester and Pain Fitz-John, &c. &c. Maddox's Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 99, 100, et Seq.

* The sheriffs, in those days, had a great power, as well in judicature, which they enjoyed during the reigns of the Saxon kings, as in levying the most considerable branches of the revenue, in which they were employed after the conquest. By this means they were enabled to enrich themselves at the expence of the crown, and by fleecing the subject; as appears from the particulars of their examination, which were as follow: I. What sums the sheriffs had, during the four last years, received of every hundred, township, and particular man, to the grievance of the public or of private persons; what they had taken by judgment of the county or hundred, and what without judgment; distinguishing the sums so taken into different lists, with the cause and evidence upon which they were taken. II. What lands the sheriffs, or their bailiffs, had bought

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But Henry had another view in convoking this great council of the nation, and that

bought or received in pawn or mortgage. III. What, and how much, the prelates, nobility, knights and corporations of the realm, and their seneschals, bailiffs and ministers, had received upon their lands, for the same time, from their several hundreds, townships, and vassals, by or without judgment, specifying all they had taken in writing, with the causes and occasions upon which it had been taken. IV. What, and how much, the king's officers, intrusted with the rents of vacant prelaties, and the custody of honours, baronies, and escheats, had gained in their employments. V. What had been given in any place, to the king's itinerant bailiffs or officers. VI. What was become of the goods of such as had either suffered by the affize of Clarendon, or had quitted the kingdom on Becket's account; what had been received of every hundred, township, and person; whether any one had been wrongfully accused in that affize, for reward, promise, hatred, or in an unjust manner; or if any accused person had been released, or had his judgment reversed, for reward, promise, or affection, and who received the premium; and what had been received in every hundred and township, and of every man for the aid to marry the king's daughter, and who received it. VII. What, and how much, the foresters and their bailiffs, or other officers, had taken for the said term, within their several districts; and if, for any reward, promise, or friendship, they had remitted aught of the king's dues, and the forfeitures of forests, or pardoned any that had forfeited on account of harts, hinds, and other game; and if the foresters, or their bailiffs, after attaching, taking security, or prosecuting any one, had released him without trial or fine. All persons guilty for these practices, were to be noted down; and all
accused

that was the coronation of his eldest son, who was now in the sixteenth year of his age. He well remembered the little regard which the English had paid to oaths of eventual fealty, in the case of his mother Matilda, and he therefore resolved to have the crown placed upon his son's head during his own life-time. The young prince came over from Normandy for this purpose, and was crowned in the church of Westminster-abbey, in the midst of a more numerous assembly than had ever appeared on the like occasion. William, king of Scotland, and his brother David, who assisted at the solemnity as peers of the realm, together with all the

accused of any fault, were to give security to appear before the king, on the day he should appoint, to do right according to law; or, for want of such security, to be imprisoned. VIII. Whether sheriffs and the lords of manors, and their respective bailiffs, had returned any thing they had taken; or had made their peace with the people, upon hearing of the king's return, in order to prevent them from laying their complaints before him or his justiciaries. IX. Whether any person had, for reward or affection, been excused or abated any thing of what he had been at first amerced, and by whom this was done. X. They were likewise to enquire in every diocese, what, how much, and for what cause, the archdeacons, or rural deans, had taken from any one illegally, and without judgment; the whole to be specified in writing. XI. The last point of enquiry, was, what persons, owing homage to the king, had not done it to him or his son; and of these a list was to be taken. *Gervase, Brady, Tyrrel.*

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the English prelates and nobility, swore fealty to him, saving that which they owed to their lord the king his father.

The ceremony was performed by Roger archbishop of York, who was likewise legate for Scotland, and who had lately obtained a bull from the pope, granting him the privilege of crowning the king of England, as some of his predecessors had done. The coronation was succeeded by a grand entertainment, in which Henry served the first dish at his son's table, saying to him at the same time, that he might now boast of being as honourably served as any monarch upon earth. Young Henry, who was of a haughty and insolent disposition, instead of making a proper reply to this compliment, turned about to the archbishop of York, and whispered, that it was no such mighty degradation, for the son of a petty count to serve the heir of a great king.

As Henry had reason to think that Becket would exert his utmost efforts to oppose this design, he had been extremely careful to keep it secret. The prelates and nobility imagined they were assembled, for no other purpose than that of trying the sheriffs; and even the young prince was not apprized of his father's intention, until his arrival in England, which was only two days before the coronation. A general report, indeed,

had

had for some time prevailed, that Henry had such a scheme in view; and Becket giving credit to the report, had used every art to prevent its being carried into execution. He had writ to the archbishop of York, and the other English prelates, forbidding them to officiate, or assist, at the coronation; and had prevailed upon the pope to confirm the inhibition. Some of these mandates were actually brought into England, but were suppressed in the hands of the bearers; the severity of the law being so great, that no person would venture to deliver them according to the directions.

Baffled in this attempt, he transmitted an order to the convent of Christ-Church, to issue out, by virtue of the papal authority, the like inhibition upon all the suffragans of the see of Canterbury; to enter a protest in favour of its rights, and make an appeal for preventing the intended injury; but this order was as little regarded as the former. He next sent his own, and the pope's inhibitions, to Roger bishop of Worcester, who was then in Normandy, and undertook to deliver them; which he thought he could do with the greater ease, as he was summoned by the king to attend the great council of the nation at London: but he had scarce reached Dieppe, in his way to

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England, when the queen, and Richard Hommet, justiciary of Normandy, either informed of his design, or at least suspecting him on account of his attachment to Becket, sent an order forbidding him to embark, and laid an embargo upon all the shipping in the harbour. Becket, disappointed in all his schemes, at last applied to the court of France, as the most likely quarter from which he could derive assistance.

Henry, it seems, when he sent for his son from Normandy, had not ordered him to bring his spouse along with him. This step was probably owing to his extreme desire of keeping the design secret, well knowing that if it came to the ears of Lewis, he would employ every art to prevent its being carried into execution.* Becket, however, took care to represent the omission, as an unpardonable insult offered to the king of France, whom he therefore advised to resent it accordingly. Lewis, either viewing the matter in this light, or glad of a pretext at any rate to thwart the measures of Henry, resolved

* The coronation of a young king, during the life of his father, though a measure entirely new in England, was not without precedents in other countries. All the kings of France, from Hugh Capet down to Philip Augustus, had taken this precaution; nor had it ever been attended with any bad consequences, as it unhappily afterwards proved to be in the present case.

resolved to send a caveat to Eleanor against the coronation of the young prince, unless his daughter should be crowned at the same time; threatening, in case of a refusal, to declare war against England. But this project could not be executed in time to prevent the ceremony, which was already performed.

The news of this circumstance threw the archbishop into such a violent passion, that, forgetting the sacred character he bore, he had recourse to the mean arts of falshood and deceit. He wrote a letter to the pope, affirming that the young king had not only omitted the usual oath, for preserving the liberties of the church; but even swore that he would maintain the constitutions of Clarendon. Alexander, who placed an entire confidence in Becket, and could not conceive that a person of his rank and character could be guilty of a lye, immediately supplied that rancorous prelate with sentences of suspension and excommunication against all the English bishops, who had assisted at the solemnity. But the pope was soon undeceived by Gilles, bishop of Evereux, who attended at the coronation, and assured his holiness, that the young king had taken an oath in favour of the church, and that the constitutions were not so much as mentioned on the occasion. The letters of suspension were accordingly altered; and instead of

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comprehending all the English prelates, were directed only against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury.

The ceremony of the coronation being entirely finished, and the affairs of the nation settled in the best manner possible, Henry went over to Normandy in the month of June, where he was met by the pope's legates, who had been waiting for him ever since the time that the young prince had left the continent. His first care, after his arrival, was to compromise all differences with the king of France, who was so highly incensed at the affront put upon his daughter, that he threatened to invade his dominions. Accordingly, in an interview with that monarch at La Ferté in the Pais Chartrain, he made proper satisfaction for the supposed insult. Mean while the legates waited upon Becket at Sens, and persuaded him to wave the kiss and the mean profits of his see, and accompany them to the conference. The ceremonial of the interview being regulated, Lewis thought proper to absent himself, that Henry's clemency might appear the more free and unconstrained; though Theobald, count of Blois, and most of the French nobility, were present at the meeting. No sooner did Becket approach, than Henry received

received him in the most gracious manner, and, to the astonishment of all the spectators, talked to him with as much familiarity and kindness, as if they had never been at variance. After the first compliments were over, they conferred with the archbishop of Sens apart; and then, retiring by themselves, passed the greatest part of the day in private discourse.

Every thing being settled to the satisfaction of both parties, Becket attended Henry on horseback; and, in the course of their conversation, proposed that the king should make satisfaction to the church of Canterbury, whose privileges had been invaded by the archbishop of York, who had crowned the young king. Though Henry imagined he had a right to have that ceremony performed by any bishop he pleased; yet, in order to manifest his inclination for peace, he promised that the see of Canterbury should have full satisfaction. He even assured the primate, that, as the queen of young Henry was not yet crowned, he should perform that ceremony, when he might likewise place the crown upon the young king's head, as a right belonging to the church of Canterbury. Becket, overjoyed at this instance of the king's goodness, immediately alighted, and threw himself at his majesty's feet: Henry leaping

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from his horse at the same time, raised him up and helped him to remount; and then both of them returning to the company, declared themselves perfectly reconciled.

As a farther proof of his sincerity, Henry granted a pardon to all the clergy who had attended Becket in his exile; but when the bishop of Lisieux demanded the same indulgence from Becket in favour of those, who had adhered to the king, he eluded the request by some frivolous distinctions. This might probably have occasioned a warm altercation, had not Henry, to prevent the revival of animosity, drawn Becket away from the company, and thus put an end to the conference. He then invited him to accompany him to Normandy, where he promised to make a proper provision for him and his retinue. But this invitation the primate declined, pretending that he could not decently part with the king of France and his other benefactors, without returning them thanks for their civilities; though the true reason of his refusal was, that he had resolved to tarry in France, until he should receive certain intelligence, that his agents had taken possession of his effects and revenues in England.

Henry, at his return to Normandy, was seized with a dangerous distemper, which reduced

reduced him to such a low condition, that the physicians had little hopes of his recovery. He therefore made his will, in which he bequeathed England, Normandy and Anjou to his eldest son (whom he charged at the same time to provide for his brother John); Guienne to Richard, and Bretagne to his third son Geoffrey. But at last he got the better of his disease, and as soon as his health would permit, went on a pilgrimage to St. Mary of Roque-Madour in Quercy.

This fit of illness having occasioned a delay in signing the powers necessary for Becket's agents, that prelate, who always imagined that nothing but the immediate dread of the thunders of the Vatican could compel Henry to the performance of his promise, solicited the pope to denounce his ecclesiastical censures. Alexander accordingly issued his bulls, reviving the former sentences of excommunication against the king's ministers, and containing an interdict against the kingdom of England, and all Henry's foreign dominions, to take place within thirty days from the date of these bulls, if, in the mean time, satisfaction should not be made to the archbishop.

Though Henry had reason to complain of these violent measures, as the delay was occasioned by an unavoidable misfortune,

to which the pope and primate were as subject as himself, yet, instead of spending the time in useless altercations, he immediately proposed another meeting with Becket at Amboise, where, by the mediation of the French king, every thing was settled to the satisfaction of both parties, and the archbishop agreed to receive the kiss of peace from young Henry. His agents were presently empowered to take possession of the archbishopric; but as there were six dioceses then vacant, the king resolved to supply them with prelates well affected to his person and government, before the return of Becket, who designed to fill them up with his own creatures. Accordingly the bishops of York, London and Salisbury were ordered to repair to Normandy, with six deputies from the chapter of each of the vacant sees, which were immediately filled with proper persons*.

Mean

* The filling up of vacant sees was considered as a right inherent in the crown, till the dispute about lay-investitures in the reign of Henry I. when the choice of the chapter or convent became a necessary condition. The election, however, was not made by the suffrages of all the monks or canons, but only by a deputation of their order. The king issued out a writ, requiring them to come to court, and there make choice of a proper person, with the approbation of the bishops, who attended him on the occasion; and when the deputies had agreed with the bishops in nominating a certain person, or recommending

Mean while Henry had like to have been involved in a fresh quarrel with the king of France. He had lately paid a considerable sum to Henry de Vienne for Montmirail and the castle of St. Agnan in Berry, which was an appanage of the duchy of Guienne. But he was hindered from taking possession of his new purchase by Theobald, count of Blois, who laid claim to those places, and who was assisted by Lewis at the head of a numerous army. Henry, not expecting such an opposition, was not prepared to assert his right by force of arms, and therefore agreed to a truce with Lewis.

While he was employed in this expedition, Becket arrived at Rouen, where he found John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury, who was sent by Henry to attend him into England. He immediately embarked at Witsand, and favoured by a fair wind, arrived at Sandwich on the first of December. Gervase de Cornhill, high-sheriff of Kent, and

ing three, of whom the king might chuse one, the royal assent rendered the election compleat.

On this occasion Reginald, son of the bishop of Salisbury, was promoted to the see of Bath, and Geoffry Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, to that of Ely. This prelate, who was no less remarkable for his great abilities, than for his high quality and large estate, had been extremely active in opposing Becket, who usually called him, in his vindictive stile, "the arch-devil, or a limb of anti-christ."

and Reginald de Warenne, in quality of itinerant justiciaries, guarded the port with a number of armed followers. But Becket, in consequence of the king's express orders, was exempted from the usual examination, and treated with greater respect and obedience than he deserved: for having advice that the king intended to fill up the vacant sees, he dispatched a messenger before him with letters to the bishops of York, London and Sarum, notifying the suspension of the first, and the excommunication of the other two.

Immediately after his arrival at Canterbury, the three prelates waited upon him, and told him, that they appealed to the pope against the unjust censures he had inflicted, and the two justiciaries, who had received him at landing, charged him, in the king's name, to annul the rash sentences he had pronounced, otherwise they would declare him a public enemy, and treat him accordingly. But he was alike unmoved by their threats and importunities, and absolutely refused to grant their demand, unless the prelates would swear to obey the pope's mandates; a condition with which they could not possibly comply, as it was directly contrary to the laws of the realm. They therefore left him to pursue the dictates of his own resentment, and repaired

to Normandy to lay their complaints before his majesty.

Becket had brought over three fine horses, as a present for the young king, who was remarkably fond of hunting, and confident of a gracious reception, he set out for Woodstock, where Henry then resided. He was attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and in all the towns through which he passed, was received with solemn processions and hymns of thanksgiving. The young king being informed of this ridiculous parade, which could answer no other end than to dazzle the eyes of the gaping multitude, and was so very unbecoming a man just pardoned by his sovereign, for crimes of the deepest dye, sent Jocelin de Louvain, brother to the second wife of Henry I. and ancestor of the illustrious family of the Percies, to order him to return to his diocese. By this time he had advanced as far as Southwark, accompanied by all the knights that held of his fee, and a great number of armed followers, as if he intended to seize some castles; though according to his biographers, he only designed to eradicate the noxious weeds of vice and heresy, which had grown up during his absence*; a pious work! which

* Provinciam, a quâ tam diu absens fuerat, circuire properans, & anhelans ad discurrendum ubique, ut evelleret

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which he presently began to execute by suspending or depriving the clergy, and excommunicating the laity, who had adhered to the king, and observed the laws of the kingdom in opposition to the papal decrees. He was setting out from the bishop of Winchester's palace in Southwark, when he received the young king's order, with which he thought proper to comply, though he had the impudence to say, that he would not have obeyed it, had it not been for the near approach of Christmas, which he was desirous of celebrating at his own church in Canterbury.

However, to shew his contempt of the royal authority, he would not return immediately, but went to his manor of Harrow in Middlesex, where he staid for several days. In his return to Canterbury, he dismissed all his attendants, except five knights, whom he kept for the safety of his person, and remained quiet at his own palace till Christmas-day, when mounting the pulpit, he pronounced a discourse full of the most cruel and bitter invectives against those who had opposed his measures; and then excommunicated Nigel de Sackville, and Robert de Broke (the latter of whom had cut

evelleret & eradicaret quæ in absentia suâ in horto Domini distortè & incopositè excreverant. *M. Paris, Vita Præf. Epist. St. Tho. p. 116, 117.*

cut off the tail of his sumpter horse *) with several of the king's ministers, officers of the household, justiciaries, and the most considerable persons in the kingdom.

Henry was then keeping his Christmas at Bures, near Bayeux, with his prelates and barons. His resentment against Becket had already been raised to a high degree by the representations of the bishops of York, London and Sarum, who had lately arrived in Normandy, and implored his majesty's protection against the malice and cruelty of that vindictive prelate. But when he received intelligence of these fresh instances of his intolerable arrogance and presumption, he gave a loose to his indignation, and cried out in all the anguish of affronted majesty, that he should never enjoy a quiet hour while Becket should continue to live. He is said to have lamented his unhappiness in having no friends about him, otherwise he should not have been so long exposed to the insults of a babbling priest, whom he had raised from the dunghil, to be the plague of his life, and the continual disturber of his government. These words were not dropt in vain. Four barons, or knights of the household, to wit, William de Tracey, Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard

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F

Brito,

* Sure, the cutting off the tail of a prelate's horse is not an invasion of the privileges of the church.

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Brito, bound themselves by an oath to revenge the king's quarrel. For this purpose they privately withdrew from court on the twenty-sixth day of December; took shipping at different ports; and, what is very surprizing, met next day about the same hour at Saltwode, within six miles of Canterbury. Henry, suspecting their design, as well by the privacy as by the suddenness of their departure, immediately dispatched messengers after them, to forbid them to commit any violence; but the king's orders arrived too late to prevent the execution of their purpose.

Mean while the king convoked a council to deliberate upon the proper measures for restraining the furious conduct of the primate, whom some of the members advised to prosecute and put him to death as a traitor; but this proposal he rejected as inconsistent with the terms of agreement he had lately made with him, though he resolved to seize his person, and commit him to close custody. William de Magneville, earl of Essex, Saier de Quincy, and Richard de Hommet, were charged with this commission; and the last of these noblemen passing into England, sent Hugh de Gundeville, and William Fitz-John to the young king at Winchester, desiring him to send a party of knights from court to arrest the arch-
bishop.

bishop at Canterbury, while he kept watch on the sea-coast to prevent his embarking, and the other two did the same at Witsand, to seize him there in case he should escape from England.

But all these measures were rendered unnecessary by the dispatch of the four barons, who being joined by twelve other knights at the castle of Saltwode, belonging to Ralph de Broke, proceeded directly to Canterbury. The business of the assistants was to keep the citizens quiet; while the barons, with their followers, entering the palace, secured the great gates, and seized two or three of the knights belonging to the archbishop's family. They then advanced to the primate's apartment, and expostulated warmly with him about his conduct. He affirmed that he derived the spiritualties of his see from the pope; that he held nothing of the king but the temporalties*; and upbraided three of them with having retained them in his service while he was chancellor. Whatever was their original design, they were so incensed by these reproaches, that they resolved to deprive him of life,

F 2

and

* In the life prefixed to Becket's Epistles, it is said that he declared in this conference, that he would never take an oath to the young king for the barony he held, nor should any of his clergy take an oath to him, and that, as archbishop, he would do himself right in spite of all the world.

and for that purpose retired to put on their armour. During this interval he might have escaped if he had pleased, but he either presumed too much on his sacred character, or aspired to the glory of martyrdom. The monks and clergy apprehending some mischief earnestly entreated him to consult his own safety by flight; but Becket, who was a man of undaunted courage, rejected the expedient, and determined to assist at Vespers. As he passed through the cloister of the convent into the church, he was followed by the conspirators, who immediately fell upon him with swords and clubs; and after receiving four wounds, he dropt down dead before the altar of St. Benedict*.

Thus

* As the nature of the altercation which preceded this murder, and the circumstances attending the perpetration of the crime, are extremely characteristic as well of Becket and the assassins, as of the age in which they lived; the curious reader, perhaps, will not be displeased with an account of these particulars, which we shall give him in the words of an historian, who was at great pains in collecting them, as we could not put them into a more modern dress, without depriving them of that air of simplicity which constitutes their chief merit.

About this time the four knights abovementioned, who had sworn to revenge the king's quarrel, met with a more speedy passage than such a design deserved; for having landed privately near Dover, and, in the country thereabouts, having raised a pretty large number

The Murder of Thomas à Becket.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.



Thus fell the celebrated Thomas Becket,
the victim of his own pride, arrogance and
F 3 presumption;

ber of men, partly of the king's officers, and partly of those whom the archbishop had excommunicated, they made what haste they could to Canterbury, where being arrived on the 30th of December in the afternoon, they entered the palace, came into the archbishop's chamber, and there sat down without speaking a word; till the archbishop asking them the occasion of their coming, one of them (Fitzurse by name) told him that they came from beyond sea, with a message from the king; upon which the archbishop commanded his domestics to withdraw; but when the other said, that he desired all there present should hear, they staid in the room. Then Fitzurse, in the name of the rest, delivered his message. But Fitzstephens makes the archbishop's servants to have withdrawn; by his order, during the delivery of it; and that, so soon as it was over, he fearing some violence, called in his chaplain and domestics, before whom the knights repeated what they had to say. I shall not here relate the whole dialogue between the archbishop and them, as I find it in my authour, since it would be too tedious; and besides, they themselves differ about what they make the gentleman to say; but the sum of what Fitzurse told him was, that he had as good have taken the crown from the king his master's head, as thus to excommunicate the bishops, and then refuse them absolution. But the archbishop said, he was so far from taking the crown from the king's head, that he wished with all his heart he could put another on (God's honour and his own soul being still safe); that not himself, but the pope had excommunicated and suspended their bishops, and it was not in his power to absolve them. They answered, it was all one as if he had done it, since it was done, by his procurement. To which the arch-
bishop

presumption ; and one of the most factious and turbulent prelates, that ever endeavour-

ed
 bishop replied, that indeed he was much obliged to the pope for thus vindicating the injury done to his see, as well as to himself: then making a long recital of all the wrongs he had received, he appealed to themselves as witnesses, whether the king had not granted him leave to proceed by ecclesiastical censures against those who had disturbed the peace of the church ; nor could he pass it by, without betraying the pastoral charge. At which they all cried out, that they were never witnesses of any such thing; and called the monks, and others there present, to secure him on the king's behalf; and that, if he escaped, he should be required at their hands. So presently going out, the archbishop following them to the door of the outward room, said, no, I come not hither to fly, I value not your threatenings. To which they replied, they were not bare threats, and so you shall find. Then going out of the abbey, they brought those of their guard into the court, whom they had before left at the gates while they talked with the archbishop: but, during the time that they were gone away, the monks, hearing that the knights with their men were returning, would fain have persuaded the archbishop (being near Vespers) to go along with them into the church: but he being unwilling to do it, they were at last forced to haul, rather than lead him thither, through a private door out of the cloisters, which was broke open on purpose to let him in. He had not been there very long, and was but just got upon the steps of the high altar, when the four knights returned again, being now armed; finding the doors of the monastery shut, they broke a window, and Robert de Broke getting in, opened the doors to them; and he being their guide, they entered the church the same way the archbishop
 had

ed to raise the authority of the church upon the ruins of civil government. He had de-
served

had done before; yet would not he permit the other door to be made fast at all, saying, it was the church, and all men were free to enter into it: God's will be done. So soon as they came in, they cried out, where is the archbishop? where is the traitor? he coming down from the steps of the altar to a pillar not far off, said, here am I, no traitor, but a priest. Then they laid hands on him to try if they could pull him out of the church, that (as they afterwards confessed) they might either kill him without, or carry him away prisoner; but when they could not easily get him from the pillar, Reginald Fitzurse came up nearer; to whom the archbishop said, I have done thee many favours, and dost thou, who owest me faith and homage, now come to kill me? then he, laying hold on the archbishop's cope, said, thou shalt go forth, for that now thou shalt die, but he, pulling it out of his hand, answered, I will not go out. Then the other cried, fly. No, replied he, I will never fly; but I command you in the name of God, and under an anathema, that you do none of mine any harm. Then (as Edward Reyne, in his manuscript history, relates) he thrust that knight from him, calling him pimp. At which he being much provoked, stepped back, and seeing his companions behind him, he struck at the archbishop with his sword, and almost cut off the arm of this authour, which was then held up to defend his lord; and at the same time wounded the archbishop in the crown of the head, where it was shaven; who now seeing his time was come, spoke these words: Lord, into thy hand I commend my soul; or (as Gervase, and the authour of *Quadrilogus* give us them) I commend myself and the cause of the church of God to St. Mary, St. Denis, and all the saints, patrons of his church,

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served too well of the court of Rome, not to have a place in the catalogue of saints. There were many in that list, who were not so worthy of the honour, as one who had shed his blood in defending the liberties and

church. Then another of the knights wounded him in the same place, to the very brain. He falling down upon his face on the pavement, the rest struck him on the head still in the same place; and one of them, Richard Brito, cut off a piece of his skull, where the rest had already begun. Then another of their followers called Hugh the All-Clark (for he was a sub-deacon) not content with what had been done, set his foot upon the bishop's neck, and with his sword's point flung the blood and brains about the pavement, crying out, let us now be gone, he will rise no more. So that all of them hitting him (which was very strange) in the same place, all his brains fell upon the ground. When they saw he was dead, they went out in great triumph at the same door they came in, and in the mean time, their accomplices without, breaking open the doors and locks, plundered the goods of the archbishop, together with the charters and monuments belonging to the church. As soon as the people heard of it, they all grievously lamented him, and running into the church, desired to see his body, dipping their fingers in his blood, and therewith making the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Then the corpse was by the monks laid before the high altar, where it remained all night; but as soon as it was day, hearing that the murderers intended to return and abuse the body, and sling it into some filthy place or other, they shut up the church doors, and putting it in a stone coffin, buried it privately in a vault adjoining to the place where he was killed. *Tyrrel.*

and immunities of the church. He was accordingly canonized, about two years after his death, upon the common report of some pretended miracles*, supposed to be wrought at his tomb, to which the cardinals Albert and Theudon, then in Normandy, affected to give credit; and a bull was directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointing the twenty-ninth of December to be kept as an annual festival, in commemoration of Becket's martyrdom.

But, notwithstanding this canonization, it was proposed as a subject of public dispute, in the university of Paris, about fifty years after his death, whether he was in
hea-

* Gervase informs us, that such multitudes of miracles were immediately wrought at his tomb, that the number and nature of them, instead of satisfying the world, would, in an age less credulous, have created a suspicion of their reality. Neither Christ, nor his apostles, performed so many to prove the truth of Christianity, as Becket did to defend the privileges and immunities of the clergy. The monks affirm, that he not only restored dead men to life, but that he even raised the very beasts. They further add, that being exposed to view in the church before he was interred, he rose out of his coffin, and went and lighted the tapers which had been extinguished; and that, after the funeral ceremony was over, he held up his hands and blessed the people. The fame of these miracles drew such an immense number of votaries from all parts of Christendom, that in 1420 no less than fifty thousand foreigners came on a pilgrimage to the shrine of this renowned martyr.

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heaven or hell; the latter opinion being maintained by one Roger, a Norman, who boldly asserted that he was damned, as a traitor to his king and country. His corpse was at first laid in an ordinary tomb; but, in consequence of an order of pope Honorious II. it was, on the seventh of July 1219, taken up and deposited in a sumptuous shrine, at the expence of archbishop Langton.

As for the perpetrators of the fact, they retired to the castle of Knaresborough, belonging to Hugh de Moreville, where they remained almost a whole year, cut off from all society; but tired at last of solitude, and enjoined by the king to submit to the pope's judgment, they went to Rome, and were ordered, as an atonement for their crime, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.*

Becket's

* Becket's biographers pretend, that all who were concerned in the murder of that prelate, died miserably in three or four years after. But to shew how little credit is due to their accounts, it may not be improper to observe, that William de Tracey survived the commission of that crime fifty years and upwards, having probably expiated his guilt in the opinion of the monks of Christ-Church in Canterbury, by making them a present of his manor of Doecombe. He was justiciary of Normandy, in 1175 and 1176. He joined with the barons against king John; and served in the expedition into Wales in 1222. It is likewise evident, from

Becket's death disconcerted all the king's measures, and forced him to compliances, which that prelate, had he been alive, could never have extorted from him, with all his spiritual artillery. The king of France, ever ready to avail himself of the misfortunes of his neighbours, immediately wrote to the pope, pressing him to unsheath St. Peter's sword, and revenge the sacriligious murder; and the archbishop of Sens, without consulting Alexander, laid all Henry's foreign dominions under an interdict; a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by his holiness.*

Henry was at Argentan, when he received the news of this tragical event; and so deeply was he affected with it, that he shut himself up for three days in his chamber, and refused all manner of sustenance and comfort. At length his prelates and nobility, fearing that he might endanger his life by his excessive grief and abstinence, forced themselves into his presence, and told him, that, instead of consuming the time in unavailing complaints, he ought to think of taking some steps to prevent the mis-

from undoubted records, that Hugh de Moreville was living in king John's time, and possessed the manors of Kirk Oswald, and Lesingby in Cumberland, which he enjoyed in right of his wife Heloise d'Errouville;

* A. D. 1171.

mischiefs which were likely to ensue from this fatal catastrophe. Accordingly the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Evreux and Worcester, the abbot of Valasse, the archdeacons of Sarum and Lisieux, Richard Barre and Henry Pichum, were appointed his ambassadors, and dispatched to the court of Rome, to lay an account of the whole matter before his holiness. These deputies immediately departed, and, after a dangerous and fatiguing journey, arrived at Frascati on the twentieth of March, which happened to be the eve of Palm-Sunday. But the desire of revenge has ever been found to be a stronger passion than the fear of danger. Two of Becket's adherents had got the start of them, and, by their invidious representations, had inflamed the resentment of the pope to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty he could be persuaded to admit the ambassadors into his presence.

The popes were wont, on the Thursday before Easter, to denounce or relax ecclesiastical censures; and the deputies, afraid that Alexander would excommunicate Henry by name, were obliged, in order to avert the impending danger, to swear in a full consistory, that the king would stand to the pope's judgment. This concession appeased, in some measure, the indignation of Alexander,



HENRY. II. scourg'd at Becket's Tomb.



J. Keltie sculp.
Engraved for Rider's History of England.

ander, who now contented himself with thundering out an anathema against all the actors, aiders, abettors, advisers, and approvers of Becket's death, and all that harboured or received the murderers.

The deputies having succeeded thus far in their negotiation, would fain have persuaded the pope to remove the interdict which the archbishop of Sens had laid on Henry's foreign dominions. But all their endeavours, for this purpose, proved ineffectual. The only benefit they reaped from their embassy, was a suspension of further proceedings, until the pope should send legates into Normandy, to enquire into the circumstances of Becket's death, and the sincerity of Henry's humiliation : and even this could not be obtained for less than forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand of gold ; an expence which Henry was glad to defray, rather than run the risk of having his kingdom laid under an interdict.

The two legates proposed to be sent into Normandy, were the cardinals Albert and Theodun, and their arrival in that country was daily expected. Henry was afraid, that, considering the present disposition of the court of Rome, and the dangerous situation of his own affairs, they would insist on very unreasonable terms ; and he therefore resolved to gain time, until the horror of

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Becket's death should gradually wear off and diminish. He likewise determined to convince his enemies, by the splendour of some glorious atchievement, that his power was not so contemptible as they imagined, and that none should dare to insult him with impunity.

With this view, he resumed a project which he had formed in the beginning of his reign; but, from the execution of which, he had been diverted by the remonstrances of his mother Matilda. This was no less than the conquest of Ireland, of which he had obtained a grant in 1155, from pope Adrian IV. under pretence of propagating the gospel, and correcting the vices of the inhabitants. The original pretext for this war, was, that the Irish had taken some natives of England, and sold them for slaves; but the motive that induced Adrian, who was himself an Englishman, to favour Henry with a bull, was the hope of encreasing the power and revenues of the church of Rome; for it was expressly stipulated, that the tribute of Peter-pence should be established over the whole Island.*

At

* The curious reader, we imagine, will not be displeased with a sight of the bull, as it will serve to give him an idea of the unparalleled arrogance with which the popes, in those days, assumed the right of disposing

At what particular period Ireland was first peopled, even the most learned of the Irish antiquaries do not pretend to determine.

G 2

disposing of kingdoms and provinces, and of keeping (if we may use the expression) the keys of earth as well as of heaven.

Adrian, Servant of the Servants of God, to his Son, in Christ Jesus, Henry, King of England, sends greeting and apostolical Benediction.

“THE desire your magnificence expresses to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in heaven the prize of eternal happiness, deserves great commendation. As a good Catholic prince, you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the church, to spread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to extirpate the weeds of vice in the garden of the Lord; for which purpose you apply to us for countenance and direction. We are confident that your enterprize will be crowned with success, inasmuch as you have undertaken it from the noblest motive. For whatever is taken in hand from a principle of faith and religion, is always sure to succeed. It is certain, as you yourself acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other islands, that have the happiness to be enlightened by the sun of righteousness, and have submitted to the doctrines of Christianity; are unquestionably St. Peter’s right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the Roman see. We therefore think, after having maturely considered the matter, that it will be proper to settle in that island colonies of the faithful, who may be well-pleasing to God.

“You have informed us, most dear son in Christ, that you intend to make an expedition into Ireland,

“to

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mine. A little before the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, a number of Belgic Britons, from Devonshire and Cornwall, crossed the channel, and seated themselves along the south-east coasts of that island, the old inhabitants retiring to the more inland parts of the country, where they had more

“ to subject the island to just laws, and to extirpate
 “ vice, which has long prevailed in that country.
 “ You promise to pay us, out of every house, an yearly
 “ acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the
 “ rights of the church, without the least infringement
 “ or diminution. Upon this condition we consent and
 “ allow, that you make a descent upon that island, to
 “ enlarge the bounds of the church, to check the pro-
 “ gress of immorality, to reform the manners of the
 “ inhabitants, and to promote the growth of virtue
 “ and the Christian religion. We exhort you to do
 “ whatever you shall judge necessary to advance the
 “ honour of God, and the salvation of the people,
 “ whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and
 “ own you for their sovereign lord, provided always
 “ that the rights of the church be inviolably preserved,
 “ and peter-pence duly paid. If, therefore, you think
 “ proper to carry your design into execution, labour
 “ above all things to improve the inhabitants in virtue.
 “ Use both your own endeavours, and the endeavours
 “ of such as you shall judge worthy of being employed
 “ in this work, that the church of God be more and
 “ more enriched, that religion flourish in the country,
 “ and that the things tending to the honour of God,
 “ and the salvation of souls, be disposed of in such a
 “ manner, as may intitle you to an immortal fame
 “ upon earth, and an eternal reward in heaven.” *M.*
Paris. Diceto, &c.

In

more conveniences for hunting, which was at once their employment and delight. Both these people were known by the common name of Hiberni, so late as the time of Constantine the great, as appears from the inscription on an altar erected by one Magis, an Irishman, on the banks of the Rhine; but, toward the latter end of Constantine's reign, a colony of Scythians, or Scoti, who seem to have been descended from the Hermiones in Germany, mentioned by Tacitus, took possession of the western and north-west parts of Ireland, which till that time were hardly inhabited, being wholly covered with woods and bogs.

G 3

These

In perusing this bull, it is hard to know which acted with the greatest dissimulation, the king or the pope. Henry alledged false pretences, to cover his ambition; and Adrian affected to believe him, in order to have a right of granting him a country which belonged neither to the one nor the other. But, through all these disguises, it is easy to discover the true motives that influenced his holiness. Ireland had not yet acknowledged the superiority of the Roman see over the rest of the Christian world. That was the noxious weed, which was to be rooted out of the field of the Lord. Submission to the bishop of Rome, was the precious seed that was to be carefully sown and cherished, from the produce of which, the Roman church might reap a plentiful harvest. For what else can be meant by spreading the knowledge of the truth, in a country where the Christian religion had been so long professed and established?

These Scoti, who were a restless and war-like people, soon extended their territories to such a degree, that they communicated their name to the whole island. They lived in septs or clans, under different chieftains; and a number of these owned the sovereignty of a superior, who, with the title of king, extended his authority over a large district. There were anciently five of these royal superiors, which occasioned the division of the country into five different kingdoms; namely, Ulster, Meath, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught; and of the five princes, who ruled over these divisions, he that was most distinguished by his power, wisdom, and valour, was chosen by the others and acknowledged as king, or monarch of Ireland; a title, which however honourable, and attended with a right of presiding in all the general assemblies of the nation, brought no accession of property along with it; the sons of each king, succeeding only to the patrimonial inheritance of their ancestors. Besides these principal sovereigns, a great number of lesser potentates, or chieftains, assumed the appellation of king, which in the Irish language signified no more than lord or superior.

It does not appear that Ireland was ever subdued, or even attacked by the Romans, though it agreed to pay tribute to them,
for

for the privilege of trading in different parts of the empire. It was invaded by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who was repulsed by the natives with great spirit and resolution, and obliged to consult his safety by a precipitate flight. The Danes made a descent upon Ireland in the year 795, but met with little success, till the famous Turgis, about twenty years after, landed with a powerful army, and subdued the greatest part of Connaught, Ulster, Meath, and Leinster. Turgis continued to triumph for the space of thirty years; but was slain in 845, by Melachlin, king of Meath, in the isle of Lochvair; and most of his forces, dispersed in different parts of the country, were cut off by the Irish.

The Danes, however, still kept footing in the island; and, being reinforced, about eight years after, by a numerous body of forces, which Anlaf and his two brothers brought over from Norway, they built the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, as the capitals of three distinct kingdoms, including a small tract of territory along the sea-side, which they fortified with castles, and maintained with occasional supplies from Norway, and the western isles of Scotland. The five Irish kings were in possession of the open country, without any other defence than the woods and bogs; and their people

people lived in a wild and savage manner, dispersed and half naked, and subsisting chiefly upon roots, milk, and cattle, which they drove from place to place for the sake of pasture, not chusing to submit to the labour of agriculture ; while the Danes, under the name of Easterlings, carried on the whole commerce of the nation. When the Danes first landed, the Irish were famous for learning ; but the fury of these invaders falling chiefly on the monasteries, all erudition was soon destroyed, and the natives relapsed into their original ignorance and barbarity. Having no manufacture or mechanic art to engage their attention, they sunk into a state of the most supine indolence ; and Christianity, which had been planted among them in the fifth century by St. Patrick, was now almost entirely extinguished, their bishops and clergy living like monks, and neglecting the duties of their station.

Such was the state of Ireland, when in 1167 Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, carried off Dervagill, daughter of O Melachlin, prince of Meath, and wife of Tigernac O Rourke, lord of Breany, who being joined by Roderic O Connor Dun, king of Connaught and monarch of Ireland, marched against the ravisher, routed his forces, and obliged him to fly into England. Henry being at this time in Guienne, Dermot

not immediately repaired into that country, and offered to hold his dominions of the English king, if he should recover them by his assistance.

Henry accepted the proposal, and granted letters-patent, allowing any of his English subjects to assist the Irish prince. Dermot returning to Bristol, made an agreement with Richard Strongbow, lord of Striguel, and earl of Pembroke, by which he engaged to give him his only daughter Eva in marriage, with the succession of his kingdom, in consideration of the earl's supplying him with a body of forces to restore him to his dominions. He likewise contracted for succours with Robert Fitz-Stephens, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, on whom he promised to bestow the city of Wexford and the two adjoining cantreds, which did not belong to him, but were in the hands of the Easterlings; and then, passing over into Ireland, lurked all winter in the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded.

In the spring of the year 1169, Robert Fitz-Stephens, attended by his nephew Meyler Fitz-Henry, Milo Fitz-David, and Hervey de Montmorency, landed in Bannogh-bay, in the county of Wexford, with sixty knights and three hundred archers; and being next day joined by Maurice de Prendergast, with ten knights and sixty archers,
and

and soon after by the troops of Dermot, they advanced to the city of Wexford, which they immediately invested and reduced. Dermot was no sooner master of the place, than he made it over to Robert and Maurice, with the two cantreds he had promised, distributing money, at the same time, among their followers; and gave two other cantreds, near the sea, betwixt Wexford and Waterford, to Hervey de Montmorency, from whom they devolved to the house of Ormond. Dermot being now at the head of three thousand Irish troops, besides his English allies, advanced against Donald, king of Ossory, whom, after several sharp skirmishes, he compelled to sue for a peace.

Roderic, monarch of Ireland, alarmed at the rapid progress of the English arms, solicited all the petty kings of the island to unite their forces, and check the career of these adventurous interlopers; but thinking it more prudent to proceed in the way of negotiation, he endeavoured to persuade them to leave the country. This attempt having proved unsuccessful, he concluded a private treaty with Dermot, to whom he offered to restore the whole kingdom of Leinster, provided the foreigners should be expelled the country. To insure the performance of articles, Dermot gave his son
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Cnuth as an hostage to Roderic, who was to bestow his daughter in marriage upon the young prince. But Maurice Fitzgerald having soon after arrived from England, with ten knights, thirty horse, and three hundred archers, Dermot was so elated with this accession of strength, that he renounced his engagement, and invested the city of Dublin, which in a few days he reduced; though, upon the delivery of hostages, he left it in the possession Asculf, the Danish prince to whom it belonged. Mean while Roderic had invaded the territories of Donald O Brian, king of Thomond, son-in-law to Dermot; but Fitzstephens marching against him, defeated his army in several engagements, and forced him to fly into Connaught.

Dermot, having recovered the possession of his own kingdom with so little difficulty, began to entertain the ambitious hopes of reducing Connaught to his obedience, and thus erecting himself into monarch of Ireland; but Robert and Maurice being consulted on the subject, advised him to defer thus enterprize till the arrival of fresh succours from England, and in the mean time to apply to Richard Strongbow, for the performance of his promise.

Henry, who seems to have been jealous of the great power and abilities of Richard, had

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had strictly prohibited him from engaging in this expedition ; but, notwithstanding that circumstance, Richard sent Remond le Gros, with ten cavaliers and seventy archers, to the assistance of Dermot. This small body having landed in the month of May 1170, at Dundevil in the neighbourhood of Waterford, were immediately surrounded by an army of three thousand Danes and Irish ; but being happily reinforced with a few troops under Hervey de Montmorency, who had come to visit Remond, they attacked the enemy with such irresistible fury, that they put them to flight with the loss of a thousand men.

In the month of August, Richard himself, accompanied by two hundred knights and an hundred archers, landed near Waterford, which he took by storm. There his marriage was solemnized with the beautiful Eva, and he and his wife were declared successors to Dermot's dominions, though the son of this prince was still alive in the hands of Roderic, king of Connaught. Soon after the solemnization of the marriage, the earl, attended by his father-in-law, advanced to Dublin, which they took by assault ; while Asculf, and a great number of the citizens, escaped by sea to the Orkneys. In the month of October, they made an incursion into the country of Meath, which they con-
tinued

tinued to waste with fire and sword till the the approach of winter, when, having appointed Miles Cogan governor of Dublin, Strongbow returned to Waterford, and Dermot retired to Ferns.

These conquests excited the jealousy of Henry, who began to apprehend, that, should Strongbow acquire the sovereignty of Ireland, he might become as formidable to the crown of England, as himself and his predecessors, since their accession to the English throne, had been to that of France. He therefore issued a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to return to their own country before the ensuing Easter, and forbidding any further supplies to be sent into Ireland. This order obliged Strongbow to dispatch Remond into Normandy, with letters full of duty and obedience to the king, and offers to resign into his hands all the conquests he had made in Ireland. This prudent measure had the desired effect. Henry was so highly pleased with the earl's submission, that he not only ordered his lands in England and Normandy, which had been sequestered, to be restored to him, but likewise created him seneschal or constable of Ireland; and Dermot having died on the fourth of May 1171, Richard succeeded to the kingdom of Leinster, by which means

he soon became the most powerful prince in the island.

Mean while, Asculf, having collected a considerable body of forces from Norway, the Orkneys and Hebrides, resolved to recover his former possessions. With this view having embarked his troops on board of threescore ships, he entered the Liffy, and endeavoured to surprize the castle of Dublin; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Miles Cogan, who caused him to be put to death for his scurrilous and abusive language.

The bad success of this attempt did not discourage the king of Connaught from undertaking an enterprize of a more arduous nature, which was no less than the entire expulsion of the English from Ireland. For this purpose, having levied an army of thirty thousand men in his own dominions, and those of his neighbours, and being joined by Godred, king of Man and the Western Isles, with a strong reinforcement, he invested the city of Dublin. Strongbow had found means to throw himself into the town with a small supply of forces; but the place was so closely blocked up by the enemy, that all communication with the open country was entirely cut off, and the garrison must soon have been obliged to surrender for want of provisions.

visions. Richard perceiving that they must either perish with hunger, or force a passage through the enemy sword in hand, sallied out at the head of ninety knights and their esquires, and attacked the Irish with such fury and impetuosity, that they were presently routed with great slaughter, Roderic himself having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.

Next day Richard marched to the relief of Robert Fitzstephens, who was besieged in Carreg near Wexford, by the Danes of those parts, and Donald a bastard of king Dermot; but before his arrival, that gallant officer being deceived by a false deposition of the bishops of Kildare and Wexford, that Dublin was taken and the garrison made prisoners, he had consented to a surrender, upon condition of being transported into Wales. Henry having settled the affairs of Normandy, and committed the government of that dutchy to the young king, crossed over into England; where he was no sooner arrived than he dispatched a messenger to the earl of Pembroke, desiring his attendance at court. Richard made no difficulty in obeying his master's commands, and immediately repairing to Newenham in Gloucestershire, resigned into the king's hands all the possessions in Ireland which he held in right of his wife, or by

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conquest,

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conquest; and Henry reconveyed to him, as a fief of the crown, the whole province of Leinster, except the city of Dublin, with the adjacent cantreds, and some maritime towns and castles.

Henry intending to finish the conquest of Ireland in his own person, assembled a numerous army, and in his march through Wales, received the submission of Relsc, and the son of Owen Guineth, with whom he compromised all differences, in order to prevent their sending any succours to the Irish *. Arriving at Pembroke, he embarked

* Gytten Owen, the last eminent poet and antiquary among the Welsh bards, informs us, that, about this period, one of the sons of Owen Guineth, named Madoc, having been deprived of his inheritance by his brothers, equipped a few ships, and sailed with his adherents to the North of Ireland in quest of some new habitation; and then steering westward, arrived at an unknown land, which was probably the coast of Florida, or some more northern part of America. Leaving most of his people behind him, he returned to Wales, and gave such an advantageous account of this new country, that he prevailed upon a great number of families to follow his fortune; and embarking these on board of ten ships, he again set sail for his infant colony. This account is rendered still more probable by the number of British words, which are to be found in the language of the Americans, and in the names of places, such as the island of Coroeso, Cape-Breton, the river Gwyn-dor, and the white rock Pengwyn. Besides, whoever attentively peruses the late accounts that have been published of the manners

barked his forces on board of four hundred vessels, and, after a quick and safe passage, landed next day in Ireland, about eight miles from Waterford.

Henry had little else to do, after his arrival in Ireland, than to make a progress through the country, and receive the homage of the princes and chieftains ; nor is there any thing strange in this general submission of the natives, if it be true (as Gervase affirms) that they actually invited him over, chusing rather to live under his government, than that of the earl of Pembroke.

Immediately after his arrival, he repaired to Waterford, where Richard Strongbow did him homage for his province of Leinster, as did likewise Dermot Maccarty, king of Corke, who, at the same time delivered hostages for the payment of an annual tribute. After a fortnight's stay at Waterford, he marched with his army to Lismore and Cashel, where he received the submission of Donald, king of Ossory, Melachias, or Melachlin O Phelan, king of Decies, Reynald prince of Waterford, and Donald O Brian, king of Thomond or Limerick. All these princes he treated with great kindness, and

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made

ners of the North Americans, will perceive a strong resemblance between the customs of these savages, and those of the ancient Britons, to whatever cause that similitude may be owing.

made them some valuable presents; but took care to secure Corke, Limerick and Wexford with strong garrisons, in order to guard against any sudden revolt.

Having thus provided for the security of Munster, he marched through the province of Ossory to Dublin, where he arrived on the 21st of December; and soon after received the homage of Richard O Carol, king of Uriel or Ergall, Tigernac O Rourke, and other princes in the neighbourhood of that city. Roderic O Connor, monarch of Ireland, finding himself deserted by all the other sovereigns, was at last obliged to make his submission. Accordingly he met Hugh de Lacey, and William Fitz-Aldelm, Henry's ambassadors, on the banks of the Shannon, where he took an oath of allegiance to the king of England, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute. Thus without spilling a drop of blood, Henry became master of the greatest part of Ireland; and most of the tributary princes attended his court, which he kept at Dublin, during the Christmas-holidays, with great pomp and splendour*.

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* Brompton says that he kept his Christmas in a palace built of wattles, according to the custom of the country, complying, in this particular, with the taste of the natives, that he might the more effectually reconcile them to his person and government.

The Irish bishops were even more forward than the princes and nobility in acknowledging the king of England; having repaired to Waterford immediately after his landing, to congratulate him on his arrival. This conduct of theirs seems to have been owing to the high opinion they entertained of his piety, wisdom, and justice, from which they expected a complete reformation of many vices and immoralities which had gained too strong a footing in the nation to be eradicated by their influence. The common people among the English, under the Saxon government, had been wont to sell their children as slaves to the Irish; and this unnatural traffic, though expressly condemned by the ecclesiastical canons, was still continued after the conquest. The Irish bishops imagined that this impious commerce had drawn the judgment of God upon the English in the Norman conquest; and that Ireland, for the same reason, was now enslaved in its turn. It was either to quiet these scruples of conscience, or perhaps with a view of making their court to their new master, that they assembled a synod at Armagh, where, with the general consent of the nobility, they ordered all the English slaves in the island to be set at liberty.

Henry, that he might not disappoint the hopes of his new subjects, summoned a general

neral council of the clergy to meet at Cashel in the month of March, 1172. In this assembly, which was very full, Christian, bishop of Lismore, presided as the pope's legate ; and Ralf, abbot of Buldewas, the archdeacon of Landaff, and some of the king's chaplains were sent to assist at it, in order to promote a design which Henry had formed of bringing the church of Ireland to a perfect conformity with that of England. For this purpose several canons were enacted, condemning promiscuous concubinage and polygamy, forbidding marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and enjoining them to be solemnized according to the custom of the church, ascertaining the rites of baptism and burial, and all divine offices, providing for the payment of tythes, and the exemption of the clergy, from secular service and taxes, and empowering individuals to make wills, and divide their personal estates among their wives and children. These constitutions, strengthened by the royal authority, were transmitted to Rome, with an instrument signed by all the prelates in the kingdom, recognizing Henry's right to Ireland, and acknowledging him and his heirs as their lords and sovereigns for ever ; and Alexander, glad of such addition of power and interest to the see of Rome, readily confirmed his title.

During

During the winter, which Henry passed in Ireland, the weather was so very stormy and tempestuous, that all communication with England was entirely cut off, not a ship daring to attempt a passage. At last, after three months stay in Dublin, he repaired, in the beginning of Lent, to Wexford, where he was informed that the cardinals Albert and Theodun had waited for him in Normandy, till their patience was quite exhausted, and now threatened to excommunicate him, if he should not come over immediately, and clear himself of Becket's murder. At the same time he received intelligence that many endeavours had been used to alienate the affections of his own children, and to engage them in an open revolt against his person and government; and that a formidable conspiracy was formed among the English and Norman nobility, for supporting them in their rebellious measures. He had proposed to pass the summer in Ireland, and make an expedition into Connaught, as soon as the roads should be passable; but he was so much alarmed by these advices, that he altered his plan, and ordered his forces, with the officers of his household, to embark immediately and set sail for England, intending to follow them in person, with all convenient speed.

During the remaining time he staid in Ireland, which was about the space of three weeks,

weeks, he employed himself in taking proper measures for securing his conquests against the attempts of the Irish, and the ambitious designs of Strongbow, whom he still beheld with a jealous eye. For this purpose he endeavoured to detach Remond le Gros, Miles Cogan, William Macarel and others, from the earl's interests, and engage them in his own; and though he behaved to all the first adventurers with great generosity, he nevertheless took care to retain the fortified towns in his own hands, and committed the government of them to persons of approved fidelity. He granted the Hundred of Offaly to Robert Fitzstephens: Waterford was entrusted to Robert Poer, Wexford to William Fitz-Aldelm, and Dublin to Hugh de Lacy, with sufficient garrisons to oppose any assaults of the enemy. He likewise granted a patent to John de Courcy, to attempt the conquest of the North of Ulster, the only part of the island which had not yet submitted to his government.

Having thus settled the affairs of Ireland in the best manner he could, he embarked at Wexford on the 17th of April in the morning, and landed that same day about noon at Portfinan, near St. David's in Pembroke-shire. As he was extremely desirous of putting an end to his unlucky dispute with

with the see of Rome, he immediately set out for Normandy, accompanied by the young king his son. His first conference with the cardinals was at Gorham, where nothing passed but compliments and ceremony; but when they met next day at Savigny, in presence of the archbishop of Rouën, and a great number of prelates and nobility, the legates insisted upon such unreasonable terms, that Henry left the company in a furious passion, declaring that he would return to Ireland to finish the conquest of that country, and they might do what they please with their legantine powers.

The cardinals seeing his steady and firm resolution, were obliged to lower their demands, and sending for the bishop of Lisieux, and the archdeacons of Poitiers and Salisbury, procured another conference to be held, which at last terminated in a final accommodation. The terms of agreement were, that the king should pay the knights-templars a sum of money sufficient (at the rate of three hundred crowns a man) to maintain two hundred knights, to be employed one year in the defence of the Holy Land, beginning at the approaching feast of Pentecost: that he himself should take the cross at the Christmas following, and serve in person against the infidels for
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the space of three years, either in Palestine or Spain, if the pope should insist upon the performance of this article : that he should not interrupt the free course of appeals to the court of Rome, in ecclesiastic causes ; but if he suspected any persons, he might oblige them to give security, that they would not, during their absence, attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom : that he should not enforce the observance of the evil customs, introduced since his accession to the throne, nor require the bishops to observe them : that he would restore all the lands which had been alienated from the see of Canterbury since Becket's exile ; and re-establish all persons, whether clergy or laity, who had suffered on that prelate's account, in the full possession of their estates.

To the performance of these articles, which were as favourable as could be expected, Henry and his son swore in the cathedral of Avranches, on the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of Ascension ; and the father, of his own accord, declared upon oath, that he had no hand in the murder of Becket, which had filled him with the deepest sorrow and concern ; but as that fatal event had been owing to the displeasure he had expressed at the Archbishop's proceedings, he was willing to submit

mit to the penance prescribed in the articles. He was then led out of the church by the legates, and after falling on his knees and receiving absolution, was reconducted into the cathedral, without suffering the discipline, shifting his clothes, or undergoing any other ceremony usual on the like occasions. Young Henry swore that, in case his father should be prevented by death, from fulfilling the articles, he himself would supply that defect. There was likewise another oath, which both princes took, and which, as it is not mentioned in the agreement, seems to have been entirely voluntary: the purport of it was, that they would adhere to Alexander and his successors, as long as they should own them for christian and catholic kings. This treaty was signed and sealed by the cardinals, who communicated the particulars of it to the archbishop of Tours and his suffragans, that the kingdom of France might be apprized of all the proceedings.

This affair being happily finished, Henry resolved to give satisfaction to the king of France, for the affront put upon his daughter, in omitting her coronation at the time that her husband received the crown. With this view the young king and Margaret were sent over to England, and on the 27th of August were anointed and crowned in

the church of St. Swithin at Winchester by the archbishop of Rouen, assisted by the bishops of Evreux and Worcester. After staying about two months in England, young Henry and his queen returned to Normandy, from whence they set out on a visit to the king of France.

Henry's affairs were now in a most flourishing condition; he had greatly increased the revenue of Normandy, and ruled in that duchy with a more absolute sway than any of his predecessors had ever done before him: he had added the kingdom of Ireland to the English crown; and by the death of Conan le Petit was become master of Bretagne, which at once united and strengthened his dominions on the continent: he had lately made an alliance with Alphonso, king of Castile, by giving him his daughter Eleanor in marriage: he had projected a match between his youngest son John, who was just entered into the seventh year of his age, and Adelais, daughter of Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy, on very advantageous terms. He was upon the point of compromising his differences with Raymond de St. Gilles, about the county of Thoulouse *; and by his late accommodation

* Raymond engaged to do homage for Thoulouse to Henry's second son Richard, as duke of Guienne, to pay

commodation with the pope, he was delivered from all his ecclesiastical troubles.

In these happy circumstances, Henry had reason to flatter himself with the pleasing hopes of passing the rest of his days in peace and tranquillity; but all his hopes were suddenly blasted by the malice of his enemies, and the disobedience of his own children. Young Henry's visit to the king of France was in compliance with the earnest desire of that monarch, who was extremely fond of his daughter. But paternal affection was not the only motive that prompted Lewis to make this request. He was actuated by another and a less virtuous principle. He was jealous of the power and prosperity of Henry, and he therefore resolved to embroil the affairs of that prince, by engaging his own sons in a rebellion against him.

With this view, he employed every artifice to inflame the mind of the young king against his father. He observed to him, that he was no more than the shadow of royalty; that his power was more limited than that of a private nobleman; that his appointments were unequal to his high rank;

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pay an annual tribute of one hundred marks of silver, and to serve in the king's army, when summoned, with an hundred armed followers for forty days, at his own expence.

and that he was entitled to the government of the kingdom ever since his coronation. The young king, who was a weak, vain, and ambitious prince, greedily listened to these suggestions, and promised to embrace the first opportunity of redressing his imaginary grievances. Mean while Henry, who began to be uneasy at his son's staying so long in a court, where he knew designs were often hatching to his prejudice, ordered him to return to Normandy; and there the young king had no sooner arrived, than, by the advice of Lewis, he demanded the absolute government of England or Normandy; a request with which the father absolutely refused to comply.

In the beginning of the year 1173, the king, accompanied by queen Eleanor and his eldest son, proceeded to Limoges, where they were met by Raymond, count de St. Gilles, who came to do homage for the county of Thoulouse; and Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy, to finish the treaty of marriage between prince John and his daughter Adelais. The portion of this young princess consisted of very considerable demesnes in La Bresse, Dauphiny, Savoy and Piedmont, together with the eventual succession to all her father's dominions, in case he should die without male issue; and the king agreed to settle
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upon John, besides the sum of five thousand marks of silver, the castles of Loudun, Mirbeau, and Chinon.

This alliance, had it not been prevented by the death of the young princess, would have been very advantageous to Henry, and no less dangerous to Lewis, who therefore exerted his utmost efforts in order to defeat the project; an attempt in which he was strongly seconded by his son-in-law, who flatly refused to join in the parting of those castles to his brother. The young king, after this open declaration of his sentiments, kept no measures with his father, but seized every opportunity of expressing his aversion to his person and government; and Henry, imputing the conduct of his son to evil advice, removed Asculf de Hilaire, and some other young knights from about his person. But this step, instead of retarding, served only to hasten the execution of his rebellious project; for when the court returned to Chinon, he withdrew privately in the night; and passing through Alençon and Argentan with great expedition, arrived on the 8th of March in the French territories. Henry being informed of his son's escape, pursued him as far as Alençon; but finding it impossible to overtake him, and judging his flight to be a prelude to some conspiracy against his government,

ment, he sent orders to the commanders of all his garrisons to put themselves into a posture of defence.

Young Henry's servants were more loyal than their master. Immediately upon his departure, Richard Barre, his chancellor, repaired to the court of the old king, and delivered the seal into his majesty's hands; and his example was soon followed by the other officers and domestics of the young prince, who brought all his effects and furniture to the king; but these Henry was so far from retaining, that he ordered them all to be carried to his son, together with rich presents of horses, plate and apparel from himself, enjoining his servants, at the same time, to serve their master with inviolable honour and fidelity.

Henry, that he might neglect no measure to prevent a war, which could not be attended with any advantage, but might probably be productive of many and great inconveniences, sent ambassadors to the king of France, desiring he would not support a rebellious son against his father, and offering to refer the young king's pretensions to his arbitration. But Lewis, whose interest it was rather to inflame than compromise the quarrel, rejected the proposal, and in a taunting letter affirmed that he had resigned all his right
to

to the crown of England, at his son's coronation *.

No sooner had young Henry retired to the French court, than he was joined by great numbers of the Norman barons, who, upon the late inquisition into the demesnes of the duchy, alienated since the decease of Henry I. had been turned out of considerable estates, which they were found to possess by defective titles, and now hoped to recover by the prodigality of the son, what they had lost by the justice and oeconomy of the father : others more considerable staid at home, but openly declared in his favour, and surrendered their castles for his service, Guy and Geoffrey de Luzignan, with several lords in Anjou and Guienne, followed their example ; and an insurrection

* Can any thing set the conduct of the French monarch in a more odious and hateful light, than such a false and impudent assertion. All the kings of France, from Hugh Capet, down to Philip Augustus, and this very Lewis VII. among the rest, had consented to the coronation of their eldest sons during their own lives ; and yet it was never pretended that, by such a step, they had resigned their right to the crown. But it has ever been the character of the French nation to advance the most glaring and palpable contradictions, when it will serve their purpose, and even to stare in your face, with a look of surprize and wonder, at your not believing what they themselves do not believe, and what it is impossible for any reasonable person to credit.

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on was raised in Bretagne, by Ralf de Fougeres, and Eudo, viscount Porhoet, both of whom were entirely at the devotion of the French monarch.

These commotions were greatly encouraged by queen Eleanor, who not only engaged in this unnatural rebellion against her husband, but also prevailed upon her sons Richard and Geoffry to do the same. This undutiful conduct of Eleanor has been ascribed, by some historians, to her jealousy of Henry's amour with the fair Rosamond,* daughter

* Rosamond must have been, by this time, in the wane of her beauty, inasmuch as the youngest of the two sons she bore to Henry, was now turned of twenty years of age. The names of these two sons, were William Longue Espée, who was afterward created earl of Salisbury; and Geoffry, who was this year elected bishop of Lincoln. Both these noblemen continued to serve their father with great fidelity and success. Geoffry, especially, distinguished himself so remarkably for his attachment to his father, that the king bestowed upon him the following encomium, viz, "that he had proved himself to be his true and legitimate offspring, whilst his other sons had acted as if they were really bastards."

Henry is said to have concealed his fair mistress in a labyrinth at Wodestoke, from the jealous researches of his queen, who nevertheless, according to the common report, found means to discover her retreat, and take her off by poison. This account, however, is founded upon no better authority than that of the old ballad composed upon the subject. But if we may believe Brompton, Rosamond did not die in 1173, nor was she

daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire ; but it was more probably owing to her resentment at his leaving her no share in the administration of her paternal dominions on the continent. Whatever was her motive, she persuaded Richard and Geoffry to escape into France, and join their elder brother, and attempted to follow them herself, disguised in man's apparel ; but before she could effect her retreat, she was taken in that disguise, and committed to close custody, where she was confined for several years as the principal author of the whole conspiracy.

Henry being now fully convinced of the rebellious designs of his sons, and the hostile intentions of Lewis and his other enemies, resolved to exert his utmost efforts, in order to ward off the impending danger.

With she poisoned by queen Eleanor. This author expressly says, that after Henry had imprisoned queen Eleanor, he continued to keep Rosamond publicly for a considerable time. This famous lady was buried in a church belonging to Godstow nunnery near Oxford, where her epitaph, which is remarkable for nothing but a play upon words, was to be seen in Brompton's time, and is as follows :

“ Hic jacet in tumbâ, rosa mundi, non rosa munda,
“ Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.”

There are no vestiges of the labyrinth remaining, but her monument has been lately repaired and beautified.

With this view, he sent ambassadors to the court of Rome, to interest the pope in his favour; filled the see of Canterbury with Richard, prior of Dover, a prelate of a mild and gentle disposition, and warmly attached to his person and government; and took into his service twenty thousand foldiers of fortune, called Brabantins; a kind of banditti or free-booters, who lived upon plunder, and were always ready to engage in the service of any prince who could pay them punctually. They were called Brabantins, because the chief of their leaders were natives of the province of Brabant; but the main body of them consisted of the refuse of France, Germany, and the Low Countries. Though they served for hire, yet, when they were well paid, no natural subjects could behave with greater fidelity; and though accustomed to plunder, yet, in time of action, they were most rigid observers of military discipline. It is not likely that Henry's sense of honour would have allowed him to employ men of their character at any other period; but, amidst this general defection of his subjects, he could not have taken a more prudent measure; for, by this time, the spirit of disloyalty had spread into England, where the earls of Chester and Leicester had publicly declared in favour of the young king; and several
barons

barons in Normandy having betrayed the castles committed to their charge, he was obliged to garrison the rest with part of his Barbantins, and to keep a body of the same troops always about his person, ready to march, at a moment's warning, wherever the enemy should offer to invade his dominions.

It soon appeared that the league, formed against Henry, was of a more formidable nature than he at first apprehended. The king of France, who professed himself the patron of the confederacy, having summoned all his prelates and nobility to Paris, took a solemn oath in their presence, importing, that he would assist young Henry and his brothers with all his power, until the father should be expelled from the throne of England: the nobility brought themselves under the same obligation; and the princes swore, in their turn, that they would never abandon Lewis, nor make a peace with their father without the consent of the king of France and his barons.

It was not to be expected that any person would engage in such an infamous cause, without a prospect of great advantage; and hence we find, that the young prince was obliged to purchase the assistance of his confederates, with a profusion of promises and presents. Being furnished with a new seal
by

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by the direction of his father-in-law, he disposed of the crown-demesnes, with a lavish hand, to several princes who espoused his quarrel. To the count of Flanders he granted lands in England to the amount of a thousand pounds a year, with the castles of Dover and Rochester, which in those days were reputed to be the keys of the kingdom; Kirketon in Lindsey, with the county of Mortagne in Normandy, were given to the count of Boulogne; Theobald, count of Blois, was gratified with an annuity of five hundred pounds Angevin money, the castle of Amboise, all Henry's possessions in Touraine, together with a release of all the right which either himself or his father claimed to Chateau-Renaud; William, king of Scotland, who had likewise embarked in the confederacy, was indulged with a grant of all Northumberland and Cumberland for himself, and the county of Cambridge annexed to Huntington for his brother David. The honour of Eye, and the castle of Norwich, were made over to Hugh Bigot and his heirs for ever; and a great number of other alienations were made with the most unbounded and undistinguishing prodigality. As for the king of France, who affected to act from disinterested motives, and may be supposed to be above accepting any pecuniary consideration, he found his account sufficiently

ficiently in this dilapidation of the crown-demefnes, which muſt greatly weaken the power of the English monarch, whom he always regarded as his moſt formidable rival.

By this time the confederates, having made the neceſſary preparations for carrying their ſchemes into execution, invaded Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Bretagne, with different armies, ravaging the country with great barbarity. Philip, count of Flanders, with his brother Matthew of Boulogne, marching through Picardy at the head of a numerous body of forces, inveſted Aumale, a place provided with a ſtrong gariſon, and every thing neceſſary for a vigorous defence. But count William, lord of the town, being ſecretly in the intereſt of young Henry, treacherouſly ſurrendered the place into the hands of the enemy. They then laid ſiege to Neuſchatel, and, notwithſtanding the gallant defence made by lord Bardulf the governor, reduced it in a few days. After this they over-ran the county of Eu; but Matthew being mortally wounded with an arrow, Philip was obliged to retire into his own country, to regulate his affairs, which were greatly diſordered by this accident.

Mean while the king of France invaded Normandy, on the ſide of the Pais Chartrain, and inveſted Vernueil, which was

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bravely defended by Hugh de Beauchamp, constable of the castle, and Hugh de Lacy ; who, together with Richard Strongbow, had come to the king's assistance, with a select body of knights from Ireland. The town being extremely populous, the garrison were soon reduced to such extremity for want of provisions, that they were obliged to demand a truce for three days, at the expiration of which term they engaged to surrender the place, if, in the mean time, the king of England should not come to their assistance.

Henry, who had hitherto lain at Conches, at the head of his army, to observe the nature of the commotion, and see where the greatest effort would be made by the enemy, was no sooner informed of the distress of his garrison, than he set out for Vernueil ; and, though inferior to the French in point of number, resolved, at all events, to hazard an engagement. But Lewis, who dreaded the courage, as much as he envied the happiness of Henry, found means to divert him from this resolution, by what the French dignify with the title of policy and address ; and what we, in our homely stile, call cunning and deceit. He sent the counts of Dreux and Blois, to propose, in his name, a treaty of peace between Henry and his sons, and to demand
a truce

a truce for the next day, when the articles should be settled in a conference to be held for that purpose. A person of a great and generous soul is never apt to suspect the integrity or veracity of others.

Henry, little imagining that a monarch of France would disgrace his sacred character by the mean arts of fraud and falsehood, retired towards Conches, and returning next day to the place appointed for the congress, was greatly surprized, when instead of meeting with Lewis, he beheld Vernueil in flames. This being the day fixed for the surrender of the town, it was delivered up to Lewis, who, to atone for the villainous acts by which he got it into his possession, caused it to be burnt and pillaged, and carried off the inhabitants prisoners. A person of a mean spirit and cruel disposition, will almost always be found to be a coward. Lewis had already given sufficient proof of his being possessed of the two first of these qualities, and he now discovered the share he had of the last, by flying with such precipitation that his provision and baggage fell into the hands of Henry, who, justly incensed at his treacherous and cruel conduct, pursued his forces with incredible rapidity, and cut in pieces a considerable part of

his rear. Having given orders for repairing the fortifications of Vernueil, and reduced Danville, a castle belonging to Gilbert de Tillieres; he returned to Rouen, as he was no longer under any apprehensions from the French nobility, whose service of forty days was almost expired.

Mean while, Ralf de Fougères, being joined by the earl of Chester, Asculf de St. Hilaire, William Patrick, Eudes viscount Porhoet, and several other barons invested the borders of Normandy, and burnt St. James and Tilleul. Against these Henry detached a considerable body of his Brabantins, who being used to long and and hasty marches, advanced with such expedition, that the rebels were almost surprized at Fougères, from whence they fled with great precipitation, leaving an immense booty behind them. Nor were they more successful in a pitched battle, which they soon after fought with the Brabantins, who defeated them entirely, killed about fifteen hundred of them in the field, took eighteen of their barons prisoners, and laid siege to Dol, to which the rest had fled for refuge.

Henry being informed of the success of his troops, which greatly exceeded his expectations, and hoping to put an end to the war at once, by seizing the principal leaders

leaders of the rebels, most of whom were shut up in Dol, he immediately set out for that place, and, upon his arrival, found the town already taken; and though the castle held out for a few days longer, it was at last surrendered by Ralf de Fougères, who, together with the earl of Chester, and about an hundred other knights and barons, were committed to close custody.

This was a terrible blow to the confederate princes, who now beginning to despair of success, advised the young king and his brothers to make overtures of peace to their father; and Henry, who, notwithstanding the unnatural rebellion of his children, still continued to love them with a truly paternal affection, readily listened to the proposal. A conference was accordingly opened near Gisors, between the king of England on the one hand, and the king of France, the English princes, and the French prelates and nobility on the other. Henry offered to settle upon his eldest son half the revenue of the crown of England, with four places of strength in that kingdom; or, if he rather chused to reside in Normandy, half the revenue of that duchy, the whole of Anjou, with six castles, three of which were to be in Normandy, one in Anjou, one in Le Maine, and

another in Touraine. He proposed to bestow upon Richard half the revenue of Guienne, with four castles; and to put Geoffrey in possession of Conan's territories in Bretagne, provided the pope would grant a dispensation for his marriage with the heiress. He further declared, that if the archbishop of Tarentaise and the pope's legates should not think this provision sufficient, he would submit the matter to their arbitration; reserving still in his own hands the administration of justice, with all the other branches of the royal prerogative.

These terms were so just and reasonable, and even so generous and unmerited, that it is surprizing how the young princes could reject them; but they were so entirely under the influence of Lewis, whose interest it was to see the English monarchy dismembered, that they absolutely refused to accept the proposals. To this undutiful conduct they were further instigated by the invidious representations of several of their followers, particularly of Robert Blanchemains, earl of Leicester, who seems to have been one of the first projectors of the rebellion. He was in England at the time the conspiracy was formed, and having raised a considerable sum of money on his estate and credit, had gone over to Normandy a little before the commencement of the

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the war, accompanied by William de Tan-carville, in order to join the revoltors. At this conference he broke out into the most virulent language against Henry, who had done him no injury, and even went so far as to lay his hand upon his sword, which could not fail to raise a tumult and dissolve the assembly.

The king and his sons parted with great animosity; and next day a battle was fought between the two armies to the disadvantage of the French, Engelran de Trie being taken prisoner by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex. The young princes, depending entirely on the friendship of France, became more and more attached to Lewis, who, about this period, conferred the honour of knighthood on Richard, now in the seventeenth year of his age.

Mean while, William, king of Scotland, as a member of the confederacy, invaded the Northern counties of England, which he wasted with fire and sword. After having, in vain, attempted to storm the castle of Carlisle, he ravaged Northumberland, and Hugh Pusey, bishop of Durham, allowing him a safe passage through his palatinate, he penetrated as far as Yorkshire, from whence he carried off an immense booty, and a vast number of captives. He was pursued into his own country by Richard de Lucy, and Humphrey

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Humphrey de Bohun, constable of England, who followed him with a numerous army, burnt Berwick, over-ran Lothian, and, in all probability, would soon have compelled the Scottish king to abandon the party of the rebels, had not their attention been called off by an object of a more interesting nature.

The earl of Leicester, with a strong body of Flemings, had landed at Walton, near the mouth of the Orwell in Suffolk, where he was presently joined by Hugh Bigot, with a great number of his vassals. The English generals were no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they concluded a truce with the king of Scotland, and immediately marched against the invaders, whom they attacked on a marshy ground near Fernham, and routed with great slaughter, the earl of Leicester and his wife being taken prisoners, and above ten thousand Flemings left dead on the field of battle.

This disaster did not deter Hugh Bigot from assembling another body of these foreigners; but finding himself unable to cope with the king's forces, he prevailed upon the English ministry, partly by bribes and partly by interest, to allow fourteen thousand armed Flemings a free passage to Dover, from whence they were transported to their own country. Whether Henry had
any

any information of this bribery, or suspected that the earl of Chester might carry on some intrigues in England to the prejudice of the kingdom, he ordered that nobleman to be brought over to Normandy, where, with the earl of Chester, he was committed to close custody, in the castle of Falaise.

The rebels in Henry's foreign dominions, were greatly alarmed by the defeat of their friends in England; and the king, that he might take advantage of the consternation into which they were thrown, immediately marched into Anjou, where he reduced the castles of Pruillé, Vendôme, and Champigny, together with the fortress of Geoffry de la Haye; and having quieted the commotions of the whole province, he returned to Caen about the end of November, and agreed to a truce with the king of France, to continue in force till after the Easter-holidays.

This short interval was employed in making preparations for renewing the war with fresh vigour. The king of France assembled a great army, in order to invade Normandy. The count of Flanders equipped a strong armament, to make a descent upon England. The young princes exerted their utmost efforts, in order to engage the English barons in their interest; and, what by agents and letters, and threats and promises, they prevailed

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ailed upon a great number of the principal nobility, to desert the cause of the king, and espouse their quarrel. Robert earl of Ferrers, David earl of Huntingdon, Roger de Mowbray, Hugh Bigot, Ralph de Morville, Hamo de Mascie, and Geoffry de Costentin, with several other barons, fortified their castles, and formed the design of a general insurrection from Suffolk to the borders of Scotland. The barons in other parts of the kingdom, preserved their allegiance to Henry the elder, and all the bishops of England (except Hugh of Durham) were firmly attached to his person and government. This last circumstance was of infinite consequence to his affairs, because the bishops, by their influence with the people, were always able to keep the bulk of the nation in their duty.

The time of rising was agreed to be at the expiration of the truce with Scotland; which ending on the thirty-first of March *, William, king of that country, at the head of a numerous army, reinforced with a body of horse and foot from Flanders, invaded Northumberland, where his Gallovidians committed the most horrible cruelties upon men, women, and children, laity as well as clergy, some of whom they massacred even at the altar. Having detached his brother David,

* A. D. 1174.

David, into Leicestershire, to encourage an insurrection in that county, he invested Carlisle, and pressed the siege so closely that Robert de Vaux, governor of the place, was obliged to agree to a capitulation, in consequence of which he promised to surrender on Michaelmas day, if before that time he was not relieved by the king of England.

While the Scotch army was thus employed, the conspirators took up arms in other parts of the kingdom; and Roger de Mowbray, lord of the isle of Axeholme, made excursions over all Lincolnshire, until he was opposed by the king's natural son Geoffry, formerly archdeacon, and now bishop of Lincoln. This prelate, seeing a storm gathering, and judging it necessary to be well provided with money, had caused a collection to be made through the whole of his diocese; and the people contributed with so much liberality, that a vast sum was raised for the king's service. But when Geoffry, who was a man of the most noble and generous sentiments, began to reflect that this money, though raised by way of loan or benevolence, had more the air of an exaction, being collected at a time when every one that did not contribute, would be suspected of disaffection to the government; when he further considered that Henry, in his present

sent circumstances, had more need of the good-will than of the money of his subjects, he caused every farthing of it to be returned to the contributors.

This act of generosity had such an effect upon the minds of the people, that they flocked to Geoffry's standard from all quarters, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army. His first attempt was upon the strong castle of Kenard-Ferry, which he attacked so suddenly, that the garrison, having no time to lay in a stock of provisions, were obliged to surrender in a few days. From thence he marched into Yorkshire, where he reduced the castle of Malefart, belonging to Roger de Mowbray; compelled Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham, to take a new oath of allegiance to Henry; and advanced against the Scots, who had undertaken the siege of Bowes, which they abandoned at his approach.

In the mean time, Robert earl of Ferrers surprized the town of Nottingham, which he reduced to ashes, and made all the inhabitants prisoners; while Anchetil Malory, constable of Leiceſter, defeated the royalists near Northampton. David, earl of Huntingdon, was at the head of the rebels in the counties of Leiceſter, Northampton, and Huntingdon; and Hugh Bigot, being reinforced by a fresh body of Flemings, among
which

which were three hundred and eighteen knights of approved valour, reduced the castle of Norwich, and ravaged the country of the East-Angles.

Richard de Lucy, guardian of the realm, finding it impossible to make head against so many different parties of the enemy in person, solicited the assistance of Re.e, prince of South Wales, who immediately marched against earl Ferrers, and invested his castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire; while Richard himself took the field with a numerous army, and invested the town of Huntingdon. This was a place of great consequence to the rebels, as it preserved a communication between the different counties where they had taken up arms; but the garrison not judging the town tenable against so great a force, set it on fire, and retired into the castle. Richard did not think it advisable to spend much time in the siege of a place which was too well provided to be easily taken: he therefore contented himself with erecting a fort before the gate of the castle, to check the excursions of the garrison, and committed the care of the blockade to Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton, while he himself drew down the main body of his army to the sea-coast, to oppose the young king and Philip count of Flanders, who had assembled a large body of forces at Grave-

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lines, in order to make a descent upon England.

All this time the elder Henry had continued abroad in his foreign dominions, where the power of the rebels seemed to be entirely crushed. He had employed himself chiefly in making a progress through the different provinces, and in trying and confirming the fidelity of his subjects, with whom he had great reason to be entirely satisfied. He had reduced several castles in Poitou, and was keeping his Whitsuntide at Poitiers, when he received intelligence that his son Richard's troops had surprized Saintes; but Henry marched thither with such expedition, and attacked the place with so much vigour, that he took it by storm, making about sixty knights and four hundred archers prisoners.

As he was sufficiently apprized of the mighty preparations which the confederates were making for an invasion of England, he determined to set out for that country himself, in order to oppose the designs of the enemy. But before his departure, he resolved to take every necessary precaution for securing the peace of his foreign dominions during his absence. With this view, he committed the care of Guienne to six of his barons, in whom he could confide. He erected a magnificent castle at Ancenis, on the

the borders of Anjou, which, with the government of Le Maine, he entrusted to Maurice de Creon. He had summoned all the nobility of Normandy, to meet him at Bonneville on Midsummer-day, when Richard, earl of Winchester, arrived from England, to press his immediate return to that country, as absolutely necessary for the defence of the kingdom. Accordingly he had no sooner settled the government of Normandy, than he proceeded with the two queens, the earls of Chester and Leicester, and some other prisoners, to Barfleur, where he embarked on the eighth of July in the morning, and landed the same evening at Southampton.

A wise prince, in matters of indifference, will never refuse to comply with the humours, and to conform to the notions, of his subjects.* Thomas Becket had been

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* It appears, from a story told us by Geraldus Cambrensis, that Henry submitted to this ignominious penance, not from any superstitious notions of his own, but merely in order to gratify the people. John, Bishop of Norwich, having a suit with W. earl of Arundel, had laid him under a sentence of excommunication. The earl came to prefer his complaints to the king, who was then attended by his prelates and nobility; and Henry, in the hearing of them all, turned to the prelates, and said: "I would advise you, bishops, to be more cautious how you meddle with my barons, and not to excommunicate them

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lately canonized, and the people of England were universally infected with the belief of his sanctity. Henry was strongly suspected of being accessory to his death, and this was the only point in which his conduct could be arraigned; his behaviour, in other respects, being altogether irreproachable. In order, therefore, to remove the bad effects of these suspicions, and to ingratiate himself with the people, by striking in with the reigning mode of their devotion, he resolved to pay his homage in public at the shrine of that reputed saint, and, proceeding directly to Canterbury, performed all the ceremonies of penance. He walked barefoot from St. Dunstan's church, without the city walls, to Christchurch; submitted to the discipline of the monks, who scourged him severely; spent a whole day in fasting and prayer; watched all night near Becket's tomb; made a grant of fifty pounds a year to the convent, for a constant supply of tapers to burn at his shrine; and having received absolution, set out immediately for London. In a few days after his arrival in that city, he received the agreeable news of an important
victory,

“ so rashly; for though one of you has succeeded in
“ doing so, yet if you happen to be killed for such
“ insolent attempts, you will not all arrive at the
“ honour of being reputed martyrs.”

victory, gained by his forces in the north on the very day that he left Canterbury ; a circumstance sufficient to warrant the monks in ascribing it to their new saint's interposition.

William, king of Scotland, had besieged Prudhaw-castle, until the English army, under Ralph de Glanville, with Robert d'Estouteville, William de Vesci, Bernard de Baliol, Odonel de Umfreville, and other Yorkshire barons, advanced to its relief, when he was obliged to raise the siege, and retreat to Alnwick. There, thinking himself secure from the pursuit of the enemy, (as it was not usual for the militia of one county to go out of its bounds to defend another) he detached Duncan, earl of Fife, the earl of Angus, and Richard de Moreville, constable of Scotland, with the greatest part of his army, to ravage the adjacent country, retaining scarce any troops about his person, but those of his household.

Ralph de Glanville, being informed of this circumstance, conceived the design of surprizing William ; and imparting the scheme to Robert d'Estouteville, Bernard de Baliol, William de Vesci, and Geoffry of Lincoln, they all readily embraced the proposal. They, accordingly, set out on the twelfth of July, in the evening, accompanied by no more than four hundred

L 3 horse,

horse, and, after a long and fatiguing march, arrived that same night at Newcastle. There having taken a little refreshment, they resumed their march at the dawn of day, and advanced with so much expedition, that before five in the morning they came up with the enemy. Their march had been so well concealed by a thick fog, that the Scots had no notice of their approach, until they appeared in sight. William, who was then in the open plain, with about an hundred horse, was so little apprehensive of a visit from the enemy, that he took them at first for a detachment of his own army. But the English banner, which was immediately displayed, convinced him of his error, though it did not deprive him of his courage. He still imagined himself in the midst of his troops that filled the adjacent country; and, thinking he could easily disperse such a handful of the enemy, attacked them with great intrepidity; but being overpowered by numbers, he was unhorsed and taken, with almost all his company, few chusing to abandon their sovereign in such a disaster. The English, overjoyed with the success of their enterprize, returned that same evening with their royal captive to Newcastle, from whence he was removed to the castle of Richmond, as a place

place of greater safety, until the king's orders should arrive.

This victory, though gained with so little bloodshed, was productive of the most happy effects. Hugh, bishop of Durham, a prelate of great power and riches, was, notwithstanding his late oath, on the point of declaring for the rebels; and the very day on which the action happened, his nephew, Hugh de Bar Sur-Seine, with forty French knights and five hundred Flemings, had landed at Hartle-pole. But the news of William's captivity, disconcerted all his measures; and retaining only Hugh de Bar, with his knights, to guard the castle of Northallerton, which he had lately fortified, he sent forty days pay to the Flemings, with orders to return to their own country. David, earl of Huntingdon, was no sooner informed of his brother's being taken, than he re-assembled the scattered detachments of the army, and conducted them back into Scotland, which was instantly involved in civil war and confusion.

The kings of Galloway had always affected, and sometimes maintained, an independence on the Scottish crown. Fergus, the late king of that country, having been reduced to obedience by Malcolm, William's predecessor, had retired into the convent of Holyroodhouse, and divided his inheritance
between

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between his two sons Gilbert and Uchtred. These princes, thinking this a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence, united their forces, and expelled all the king's officers, took and demolished the castles that had been erected for keeping them in subjection; put the garrisons to the sword; and massacred all the Scots, English, and Normans they could get into their power. But no sooner had they got rid of their common enemy, than they began to quarrel with each other. Gilbert, imagining that his younger brother Uchtred had too great a share of their father's dominions, seized him, and put him to death in a most cruel and barbarous manner. This occasioned a bloody war in Galloway. Uchtred's son Rolland, a young nobleman of great courage and intrepidity, immediately took up arms, and, with the assistance of his friends, bravely disputed his father's inheritance. These disturbances lasted till the release of William, who recovered the superiority of Galloway, and reconciled the contending princes: but in the mean time the attention of the Scots was too much engaged by the troubles of their own country, to give any assistance to the English rebels, who, being thus deprived of all hopes of further aid, were obliged to submit to the king's mercy.

Henry.

Henry, in order to improve the late victory, and take advantage of the consternation into which it had thrown the enemy, proceeded directly to the castle of Huntington, which surrendered at discretion. He then advanced against Hugh Bigot, who had lately received a large reinforcement of Flemings, which the young king had sent to his assistance ; but his men deserting daily, and finding himself unable to oppose the royal forces, he submitted to the king's mercy, delivered up his castles of Framingham and Bungay, paid a thousand marks to procure his pardon, renewed his oath of allegiance, and gave hostages for his good behaviour *. After this, the king repaired to Northampton, where the bishop of Durham made his submission ; and surrendering his castles of Norham, Durham and Northallerton, obtained permission for his nephew Hugh de Bar, to return to France with his knights. Roger de Mowbray and the earl of Ferrers resigned their castles of Thirske, Tutbury, and Duffield. Hither came likewise Ancheti de Mallory and William de Dive, constables of the earl of Leicester, to treat about their lord's liberty, by surrendering his castles ; but the king refusing

* The Flemings were permitted to return home, upon their taking an oath, that they would never attempt to come to England again in an hostile manner.

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refusing to enter into any negotiation, and telling them that their absolute submission was the only means of procuring a mild treatment for their master, they delivered up his fortresses of Groby, Montfourel, and Leicester. The rebels of inferior rank, being thus deprived of their leaders, were obliged to yield up their castles, and implore mercy; so that in less than a month after the king's landing, the peace and tranquillity of the nation was fully re-established.

During these transactions in England, young Henry and the count of Flanders with their great armament, lay waiting at Gravelines for a favourable wind; and when they at last put to sea, they were dispersed in a storm, and driven back to the port from whence they had set sail. There they received advice of William's captivity, and old Henry's success, together with the submission of all the rebels in England. This account dispirited them so much, that they laid aside all farther thoughts of the enterprise, and resolved to march to the assistance of the king of France.

That prince, having obliged all his nobility to join him with their vassals, had invaded Normandy with a mighty army; and not thinking it necessary to take the usual precaution of reducing the lesser fortresses in his way, had sat eleven days before Rouen, the

the capital of the duchy. But in this siege he met with greater difficulties, than he at first apprehended. Several of the Norman barons, out of their zeal for Henry's service, had thrown themselves into the place, and the inhabitants seemed determined to hold it out to the last extremity. Besides, the city was so very large, and so advantageously situated, being defended by the river Seine on the south, and on the three other sides by high mountains, that it was impossible for the French army, even when reinforced by the troops of young Henry and the count of Flanders, to block it up entirely; so that the citizens and garrison were regularly supplied with provisions from the adjacent country. Lewis, indeed, carried on his approaches with great vigour; but the Normans made such a bold and resolute defence, that he began to despair of reducing it by open force, and therefore had recourse to a stratagem, which reflects disgrace upon his memory.

On the eve of St. Laurence's festival, he proclaimed a cessation of hostilities for the next day; and the citizens, glad of a little respite from the severe duty to which they had so long submitted, employed it in mirth, jollity, dancing, and other recreations, while many of them crossed the bridge to the south side of the river, to see the tilts and
tour-

tournaments of their cavaliers, who diverted themselves with great security, in full confidence of the French king's sincerity and devotion. This answered exactly the expectation of Lewis, who proposed to carry the town by assault, before the inhabitants could take the alarm, and be prepared for defence. With this view he dispatched orders privately to all his officers, to have their men in readiness to scale the walls on a signal given; and the design would certainly have succeeded, had it not been for a mere accident. Some clergymen, it seems, not chusing to mix in the entertainment of the day, had ascended a high tower, in order to indulge their curiosity with a prospect of the French camp. The first thing that struck them was the unusual silence that reigned over all their quarters: they soon after perceived other grounds of suspicion; and at last observing a great number of ladders among them, and other implements for an assault, they rang the alarm-bell, which happened to be in the very place, from which they made these observations. The citizens, snatching up their arms, ran directly to the walls; and the cavaliers, who were exercising beyond the river, repaired to their posts with great expedition, though they were almost too late; the enemy, whose assault was hastened by the ringing of the bell, having already clapped

ped their ladders to the walls, and mounted the ramparts : but the citizens attacked them with irresistible fury, and tumbling them down headlong, repulsed the assailants with great slaughter.

Some writers, in order to vindicate the character of Lewis, have ascribed this dishonourable stratagem to the advice of the count of Flanders, and the instances of his own officers : but whoever was the original author of it, it must certainly have had the approbation of Lewis, who was desirous of taking the place by any means before it could be relieved by Henry, who had already landed at Barfleur with his Brabantins and a thousand Welsh auxiliaries.

Henry brought over with him the king of Scotland, and the earls of Chester and Leicester, with some other considerable captives, and committing them to close custody at Caen and Falaise, advanced to Rouen, which he entered in triumph on the Sunday that succeeded the attempt of the French. Next day he caused the gates, which had been walled up by the citizens, to be opened, and the trenches between the town and the enemy's camp, to be filled up; so as to form a road of sufficient breadth to allow two hundred men to march a breast, that his troops might have room enough to attack the besiegers, with whom they had several

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encounters. His Welch forces, accustomed to woods and fastnesses, were detached into the forest on the north-side of the town, through which provisions were usually conveyed to the enemy's camp; and they had the good fortune to seize a large convoy, which they brought safely into the city.

Lewis now began to perceive, though too late, the unhappy consequences of leaving Gisors, and other fortresses, unreduced behind him, which made it impossible for him to be supplied with provisions from his own country, or to effect a retreat thither, without the greatest difficulty and danger. In this distress he had recourse to his usual shift of artifice and negociation. He sent the archbishop of Sens and the count of Blois to make overtures of peace to Henry, to propose a conference to be held the next day at Maulauny; and in the mean time to agree to a truce, which they were to confirm by an oath in the name of their sovereign: and Henry was so averse to war, and so unwilling to act against the French monarch, whom he considered as his lord and superior, that he readily accepted the proposal. But the next day, when he came to the place appointed for the conference, he found that Lewis had taken the advantage of the truce to retire into his own country; which, however, he had not been able to do with so much expedition, but that the
Brabantins

Brabantins over-took the stragglers in his rear, and cut them in pieces.

In a few days, the two ambassadors returned to Rouen, to apologize for the abrupt departure of Lewis, and to propose another conference at Gisors, where a truce was concluded to last till Michaelmas, when the terms of a solid peace were to be settled in a meeting of all parties to be held at a place between Tours and Amboise. One of the articles of the truce was, that Henry should be at full liberty to reduce his son Richard, who was then employed in attacking his father's castles in Guienne, and who should receive no assistance from Lewis or his brother. He accordingly marched into that province; and Richard, unable to make head against his father, fled from place to place, till, at last, finding himself destitute of all support, he repaired to Poitiers, and throwing himself at his parent's feet, humbly implored his mercy. Henry, than whom no man was ever more fond of his children, generously granted his request; and on the thirtieth of September, they set out together for the conference near Tours, where a peace was concluded on such terms, as the king of England thought fit to prescribe*.

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Such

* These conditions were, That the king of England should have all the castles restored to him, which
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Such was the happy conclusion of a war, which, at first, threatened Henry with no less

the king of France or the count of Flanders had taken in Normandy, at the commencement of the war: that his sons should return to their obedience, and be freed from all the engagements they had entered into with others: that his barons and vassals, who had joined the rebels, should enjoy the same indulgence, and be reinstated in the possession of their lands and castles; that all prisoners on both sides should be released, except the king of Scotland, the earls of Chester and Leicester, and Ralph de Fougeres, with whom Henry might make what conditions he pleased; and that, from all the other prisoners, he might exact hostages for their good behaviour, or, at least, a new oath of allegiance: that all castles (if the king thought proper) should be reduced to the same condition in which they were before the commencement of the war; and that all additional works and new fortresses should be demolished: that young Henry, upon promising to retain no rancour against any of those who had adhered to his father, and engaging never to do them any harm, should have two places of strength in Normandy, with fifteen thousand pounds a year Anjevin money: that he should observe all his father's grants of lands, either for charitable uses, or to his vassals and servants, particularly the settlement made on his brother John, being the castles of Nottingham and Marlborough, with the earldom of the former, and such escheats as the king should afterwards grant him: that young Henry, if his father thought proper, should have two other castles in Normandy, one in each of the provinces of Le Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, with three thousand pounds a year, one third of it in England, and the other two in Normandy, by equal portions, and in Anjevin money. The king gave to his son Richard two seats in Poitou, such as would enable him to do the least mischief, with half the

less than the loss of his dominions, if not of life itself. But it is only in such difficulties as these, that great and heroic princes discover those admirable talents, which otherwise might have lain concealed for ever; and never surely did any prince shew more courage and resolution, more vigour and activity, more prudence and circumspection, than did Henry through the whole course of this tedious and extensive war. But what contributed most to exalt his character, was that clemency which he used in all his victories, putting no one person to death; releasing, without fine or ransom, above nine hundred knights, whom he had taken

M 3

in

the revenue of the province; and to Geoffry half the revenue of Bretagne at present, with a promise of the whole whenever he should marry the dutchess, according to the articles settled with her father Conan. The king, out of affection to his son, remitted to his adherents all the moveables they had carried off with them, and all forfeitures incurred since the rupture, in consequence of their adherence to him; but for crimes affecting life or limb, and for offences committed before the war, they were to answer according to law: and all pleas and suits were to remain in the same condition as they were before. All the sons assured their father, that they would not exact more of him against his will, than he had now given them, and that they would never withdraw their service from him; the two younger doing homage for what he had granted, and the eldest offering to do the same, but the father declined receiving it from him on account of his royal title, and accepted his security.

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in this unnatural rebellion, and restoring them to their estates. He bestowed a new grant of a yearly pension upon the count of Flanders, who gave up the convention he had made with young Henry; and he re-admitted his undutiful children into his favour, as if they had never offended.

The chief advantage which Henry gained by this war, lay in the captivity of William king of Scotland, and the treaty which he made with him at Falaise, with the consent of a great number of prelates, earls, and barons of that kingdom, assembled for settling the terms of their sovereign's release. When the princes of Galloway had, upon William's captivity, shaken off the Scottish yoke, and asserted their original independence, he had, from the maxims of sound policy, supported them in that attempt; and had sent Roger de Hoveden, the historian, who was one of his chaplains, and Robert de Vaux, to treat with them, and retain them in his service; a proposal which Gilbert, and the other chieftains in the country, readily embraced. They offered to pay him an annual tribute of two thousand marks of silver, five hundred cows, and as many hogs, for his protection and assistance in delivering them from the dominion of the Scots; but when he heard how cruelly Gilbert had put his brother to death, he
broke

broke off all connexion with such a barbarous and inhuman people, and immediately came to an agreement with the king of Scotland.

That prince did homage to him for Scotland, and all his other territories, as he likewise did to young Henry, saving the allegiance due to the king his father. He further undertook, that all his nobility and clergy should swear fealty to the king of England; that the church of Scotland should be subject to that of England: English felons, taking refuge in Scotland, were not to be harboured there, but delivered up to the king's officers of justice, unless they would return voluntarily, and stand to judgment in his court: The vassals of each king were to enjoy the lands which they held in either kingdom; and the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling, were to be put into Henry's hands, as a security for the performance of the articles. David, earl of Huntingdon, who likewise did homage to Henry, was delivered as an hostage, with four earls and sixteen barons, until the castles should be surrendered; and the Scottish prelates and nobility engaged to stand by Henry, as well against the king of Scotland, if he broke this convention, as against all his other enemies.

After

After the conclusion of this treaty, Henry had an interview with the king of France, at Gisors, when all disputes between the two crowns were finally adjusted.* The castles erected during the late war, were now demolished, and the places of strength in Anjou and Poitou, were provided with strong garrisons, and furnished with plenty of ammunition.

But what Henry had chiefly at heart, was to reconcile the mind of his eldest son, who had still the weakness to hearken to the invidious suggestions of Lewis, who endeavoured to persuade him, that if once his father had got him into England, he would confine him in prison. As Henry intended, soon to set out for that kingdom, he was unwilling to leave his son behind him, well knowing that Lewis would employ every art to inflame his jealousy, and engage him, if possible, in some fresh rebellion. He therefore sent for him to court, that he might have an opportunity of removing all his suspicions; but the young king, conscious of his own ingratitude and misconduct, and not daring to hope that his father would forgive him after so many offences, absolutely refused to come. He alledged, as a ground of his suspicion, that his father had refused to receive his homage along

with

with that of his brothers : he would not release about an hundred knights taken by his partizans in the war, until they had paid a ransom for their liberty; and he plainly shewed, by his words and actions, that he wanted nothing but the power to renew the rebellion.

Henry was extremely uneasy at this obstinate and unnatural behaviour of his son, and sent several messages to assure him of his paternal affection. At last he was so well satisfied of his father's sincerity, that he repaired to Bures, and falling on his knees before him, implored his mercy. He was received with great tenderness, took an oath of allegiance to his father at his own earnest request, was permitted to make a short visit to the court of France; and on his return to Cherbourg, the two kings set out together for Barfleur, where they immediately took shipping, and, on the ninth of May, landed safely at Portsmouth.

When they came to London, they found Richard archbishop of Canterbury presiding in a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province, which he had summoned to meet at Westminster, on the eighteenth of May. This assembly was held by the consent of the two kings, who assisted at it, attended by a great number of the nobility. Several canons, taken from the decretal epistles of popes,

popes, and the decrees of foreign councils, were here received and established. These tended chiefly to enforce the payment of tythes of all things growing, and renewing annually; to allow costs in causes between ecclesiastics; to put a stop to some practices, which it was thought proper to condemn; such as the marriage of the clergy, their frequenting taverns, going armed or taking arms, wearing long hair, or a dress, in any respect uncanonical, being ordained by any but their own diocesan, concerned in traffic or farming, judging in cases of blood, or corporal punishment, and serving in the offices of high-sheriff, bailiff, or steward. The sons of clergymen were declared incapable of succeeding their fathers immediately in their livings: no pleas, affecting life or limb, were to be tried in churches or church-yards: and no money was to be paid either for the administration of any of the sacraments, the dedication of churches, the presentation to benefices, or for the reception of any religious into convents. Vicars were forbidden to encroach on the rights of rectors, in violation of their oath of fealty; and the like prohibitions were made against consecrating the eucharist in patens or chalices of tin, or of any other materials than gold and silver; against dipping the consecrated bread in the wine, as
contrary

contrary to the institution ; against private marriages, not solemnized by a priest in the face of the church ; and against the marrying of infants not arrived to an age of giving their consent, without which there can be no marriage, except in certain cases, where reasons of state, or the public tranquillity, might render it necessary to grant a dispensation.

These canons were confirmed by the royal authority, and the assent of the barons of the kingdom. In this assembly, the king's letter, notifying his reconciliation with young Henry, was read in the presence of that prince, who took the oaths of homage and allegiance, and giving the king of France, the counts of Troyes and Blois, his two brothers, and all the prelates and nobility of England, Normandy, and Guienne for his sureties, renounced all assistance from them, should he ever deviate for the future from his filial obedience.

Several other matters of less importance were transacted in this convocation. The old dispute between the archbishops of Canterbury and York was renewed touching the privileges of the two sees. Richard of Canterbury had, at the expence of ten thousand marks of silver, obtained the primacy of all England, and a legatine power within his own province. Roger of York was vested
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with the character of legate over Scotland, and claimed the right of carrying his cross erect within the jurisdiction of Canterbury; a claim which Richard absolutely refused to allow. These two prelates embraced every opportunity of invading the privileges, and mortifying the pride, of each other. Richard excommunicated the clergy of St. Oswald's chapel, for refusing to obey his orders, when he summoned them to attend him in his visitation at Gloucester, though that chapel had been founded by an archbishop of York, and had always been subject to that see. He suspended Guy, dean of Waltham, without hearing his defence; and appointed an abbess in the nunnery at Winchester, in spite of the nuns, who claimed the right of a free election; and affirmed, that the abbess ought to be chosen out of their own body, which contained a number of persons sufficiently qualified for that dignity.

The archbishop of York appealed to the pope against these rash proceedings; and cardinal Hugozun was sent over to England, to put an end to the controversy.* Richard

was

* Gervase says, that Henry sent for Hugozun into England, in order to procure a divorce from his queen Eleanor. But he is singular in his opinion, which he seems to have adopted from Eleanor's being confined in prison for having excited her sons to the late rebellion.

was obliged to retract his censures, and resign his pretensions. The dispute about carrying the cross erect was referred to the judgment of the archbishop of Rouen and other foreign prelates, who were allowed five years to give their decision, and till that time, both parties were to observe the former customs. Godfrey, bishop of St. Asaph, resigned his see, either because it was poor, or because it was so much infested by the incursions of the Welsh. The see of Norwich and twelve abbeys being now vacant, Henry issued writs, requiring the chapters and convents of these churches to send a deputation of their members to Oxford, on Midsummer-day, to fill up the vacancies.

In the mean time he went to visit the marches of Wales; and when he came to Gloucester, he summoned a great council of his nobility to meet at that place. In this assembly, the earl of Gloucester was called to an account, for having expelled the king's warden out of Bristol, and retained

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lion, and prevent her doing the like mischief for the future. It does not appear that ever Henry took any steps to procure a divorce, nor indeed would it have been for his interest to do so. Had he been divorced, he would have had no pretence for keeping Eleanor in prison, and besides, he must have resigned the duchy of Guienne, as Lewis had done upon a similar occasion.

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that city in his hands ever since the beginning of the late troubles, and he was now obliged to deliver it up to the king. Hither came Rесе ap Grifith, prince of South-Wales, with several lords of that country to do homage to Henry ; and they engaged with the English barons of the marches in a common oath, to assist each other, in case they should be attacked by such of the Welsh as did not acknowledge his royal authority.

These affairs hindered Henry from going to Oxford, so soon as he intended ; but arriving at Woodstock, on the first of July, he there held his court. The delegates of Norwich chose John de Oxford for their bishop : the various abbeys were supplied with proper persons ; and the election of Geoffry, the king's natural son, to the see of Lincoln was confirmed ; but his father would not allow him to be consecrated at that time because he was so young, and sent him to Tours to prosecute his studies, that he might be qualified to fill that high station with greater dignity and honour.

Whether Henry had any cause to suspect those who had joined his sons in the late rebellion, of having formed a design against his life, or whatever was his reason, he issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to enter his court without permission ; and those

those who belonged to it, or came upon leave or summons, to remain after sun-set, or approach it before sun-rise. Another ordinance was published at the same time, discharging all persons to carry bows, arrows, or pointed daggers, on the English side of the Severn.

The game laws had been grossly violated during the late commotions; and these Henry now resolved to restore to their full force and vigour. Accordingly, before he left Wodestoke, four knights, with their accomplices, were tried, convicted, and executed, for the murder of one Gilbert, a forester. He then proceeded to Nottingham, where he punished all transgressors upon the royal forests; demolished the castles * of the noblemen concerned in the late rebellion, and advanced to York, to meet William, king of Scotland; who, upon delivery of the hostages and fortresses stipulated in the convention of Falaise, had been set at liberty in the beginning of the year, and returned into his own country to prepare matters for the execution of the treaty. William arrived at York, accompanied by all the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free-holders in his kingdom,

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* These were the castles of Leicester, Groby, Huntingdon, Tutbury, Walton, Dudley, Thirske, and Northallerton.

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dom, who, together with their sovereign, swore fealty and did homage to the king of England, and his heirs for ever. The treaty being thus executed, Henry restored the castles of Sterling and Jedburgh, but kept that of Edinburgh for some time longer; and Berwick and Roxburgh, lying on the English borders, were ceded to the crown of England. In return for these concessions, Henry allowed William to invade Galloway, and reduce Gilbert to his obedience, which, in consequence of this permission, he soon effected, to the great advantage of the Scottish nation.

Henry having established a firm peace with that kingdom, returned to Windsor, where he summoned a council of his prelates and nobility, to deliberate upon proper measures for retrieving the affairs of Ireland, which, during the late commotions, had been involved in great confusion. He had, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, been obliged to recall Richard Strongbow, Robert Fitz-Stephens, and several others of the first adventurers, with the greatest part of their forces. These noblemen had cheerfully obeyed his orders, and done him signal service both in England and Normandy. The Irish, encouraged by their absence, and provoked by the depredations of the soldiers, left under the command of Hervey de

de Montmorency, took up arms and endeavoured to throw off the English yoke. Such was the state of affairs in that kingdom, when, about Michaelmas 1173, Henry having triumphed over his enemies, sent Strongbow back into Ireland, with the title of guardian of the realm, and a grant of the town of Wexford, and the castle of Wicklow, to reward his services. But Richard would not accept of the government, until Remond Le Gros was joined with him in the commission; and as soon as he received Dublin from Hugh de Lacy, the late guardian, he entrusted the command of the army to his colleague, who was no less beloved by the soldiers for his humanity, than admired for his courage and intrepidity.

Remond was no sooner put in possession of his post, than he made an invasion into the country of O'Phelan, from whence he carried off an immense booty. This was conveyed by sea to Waterford in a fleet of ships, which, in their passage, defeated a strong armament fitted out by the Easterlings of Cork to intercept them. He himself marched by land with the rest of his plunder, consisting of about four hundred head of cattle, and obtained a victory over Dermot Maccarty, prince of Desmond, in an engagement near Lismore. These suc-

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cesses would probably have been followed by greater, had not the death of his father, William Fitz-Gerald, which served at least for a pretence, or his passion for Basilea, Strongbow's sister, drawn him over into Wales; and by his departure, the command devolved upon Hervey de Montmorency.

This general, either through emulation of Remond, or in order to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, advised Strongbow to undertake an expedition into the country of Limerick, and prevailed upon him to come with his knights to Cashel; but finding their forces too weak for such an enterprize, they sent to Dublin for a reinforcement of four hundred Easterlings. These recruits were attacked in their march by Donald O Bryan, prince of Thomond, and, together with their four leaders, were all of them put to the sword. The Irish, elated with this success, ran to arms in all quarters. Roderic, king of Connaught, at the head of a numerous army, consisting of his own and the combined forces of the princes of Ulster, passed the Shannon, and ravaged Meath with fire and sword; while the English garrisons in Trim and Dulcke, were so weak and ill provided, that Hugh Tirrel, the governor, was obliged to demolish the fortifications, and retire to Dublin. Richard,

ard, alarmed at these disasters, sent messengers to Raymond, promising him his sister in marriage, if he would return with all the forces he could possibly raise. This was too tempting an offer not to be accepted. Raymond immediately embarked, with his cousin Meyler, Fitz-Henry, thirty knights, one hundred horse, and three hundred Welch archers, and arriving at Waterford *, accompanied the earl to Wexford, where his marriage with the fair Basilea was consummated. He then marched into Meath, and repaired the castles of Trim and Dulcke, Roderic not daring to wait his approach, having retired into his own country. Soon after this, William, son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, having come over from Wales with a fresh reinforcement, Strongbow, in order to encourage such adventurers, gave him his daughter Aline in marriage, with the castles of Wicklow, and the middle cantred of Offaly; and bestowed the other two cantreds on Meyler and two brothers of the name of Hereford.

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* About this time the inhabitants of Waterford raised an insurrection, and formed a design of massacring all the English that were in the town; and though they were prevented by the arrival of Raymond from carrying their scheme into immediate execution, yet that general was no sooner gone than they took to arms, and butchered all the English that fell in their way.

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The king of Connaught, apprehensive of a visit from Raymond, in revenge for the havock he had made among the English settlements, sent the archbishop of Tuam, with two other clergymen, as his ambassadors to Henry, to sue for peace, and renew his submission. These ambassadors Henry received at Windsor; and, on the sixth of October, a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that Henry should allow Roderic to retain the title of king, and to enjoy his territories in as full and ample a manner as he had done before the arrival of the English in Ireland; and that Roderic, on his part, should acknowledge Henry as his liege lord and sovereign, and pay him the tenth hide of all cattle within his dominions; and that all Roderic's subjects, in consideration of their paying the same tribute, should be confirmed in their possessions.

This submission of the monarch of Ireland, and the terror of Raymond's name, kept most of the petty princes quiet; but Donald, prince of Thomond and Limeric, still continued to harass the English. In order to put a stop to his incursions, Raymond advanced into his country, at the head of an hundred and twenty knights, three hundred horse, and four hundred archers, and passing the Shamon at a dangerous ford, and
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in the face of the enemy, attacked the town of Limerick, and took it by assault; and having secured the place with a garrison of fifty knights, two hundred horse, and as many archers, he returned to Leinster. The glory he had acquired by this, and his other exploits, excited the envy of Hervey de Montmorency, who, though he had lately married his cousin Nesta, was nevertheless his rival in power. This nobleman insinuated to the king, that Raymond had a design of conquering the kingdom for himself; and Henry, whose jealousy was his greatest foible, sent over four commissioners, two of whom were ordered to return immediately with Raymond, and the others directed, to remain with Strongbow, and narrowly observe his conduct.

These commissioners having arrived in Ireland, and communicated their orders, Raymond began to prepare for his departure: but just as he was going to embark, Richard received advice that Donald, prince of Thomond, had invested Limerick with a numerous army; and that the garrison, having consumed most of their provisions during the winter, stood in need of immediate assistance. Richard would have begun his march without loss of time; but the soldiers refused to serve under any other commander but Raymond, who was willing,
if

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if the commissioners would allow him, to undertake the expedition with their consent. He set out at the head of eighty knights, two hundred horse, and three hundred archers; and was joined on the road by Murchard and Donald, kings of Kilkenny and Ossory, with a body of Irish. The prince of Thomond, being informed of his approach, raised the siege of Limerick, and advanced to meet him at a very difficult pass, which he fortified with trees and trenches. Notwithstanding these obstructions, Raymond forced his way through the pass at the first onset, put the enemy to flight, and entered Limerick in triumph. In a few days after he had a conference near Killaloe on the Shannon, with the princes of Connaught and Thomond, who both swore allegiance to the king of England, and gave hostages for their good behaviour.

He had hardly returned from the conference, when he was solicited by the promise of great presents, to march to the assistance of Dermot Maccarty, prince of Desmond, who was in danger of being deposed by his own son Cormac O'Lechan. Tempted by these offers, and considering that Dermot was a vassal of the English king, he advanced to Cork, expelled the rebellious son, re-established the father in the possession of his dominions, and returned to Limerick laden with riches and glory.

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* The troubles that had preceded and followed the death of Becket, had prevented Henry from enforcing the constitutions of Clarendon, so far as they related to civil matters: he wanted greatly to put them into execution, for which purpose in 1176 he held a parliament at Northampton, where the kingdom was divided into six parts, each of which had three itinerant justices assigned it, all of which were knights or barons.†

These justices, after swearing that they would cause the statutes made at Clarendon, and renewed by the present assembly at Northampton, to be observed, departed to their several districts.

This regulation was, in reality, the first which reduced the civil plan of policy in
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A. D. 1176.

† To preserve so memorable an institution, and to satisfy our readers, we shall give the division and names of the first justices.

Justices.	I.	Shires.
Hugh de Cressi,	{	Norfolk,
Robert Fitz-Robert,		Suffolk,
Robert Mantel.		Cambridgeshire,
		Huntingdonshire,
		Bedfordshire,
		Buckinghamshire,
	{	Essex,
		Herefordshire.
		Justices.

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England, to any certain method of justice to the common and inferior people after the conquest; and England is more indebted to Henry on this account, than for all the shining advantages he gained.

The younger Henry, seeing every thing transacted without his advice, grew very uneasy at possessing such a mockery of power in England. But he was too well convinc-
ed

II.

Justices.

Hugh de Gundeville,
William Fitz-Ralph,
William Bassett.

Shires.

Lincolnshire,
Nottinghamshire,
Derbyshire,
Staffordshire,
Warwickshire,
Northamptonshire,
Leicestershire.

III.

Justices.

Robert Fitz-Bernard,
Richard Giffard,
Roger Fitz-Reinfray.

Shires.

Kent,
Surry,
Hampshire,
Suffex,
Berkshire,
Oxfordshire.

IV.

Justices.

William Fitz-Stephens,
Bertram de Verdun,
Thurston Fitz-Simon.

Shires.

Herefordshire,
Gloucestershire,
Worcestershire,
Shropshire.

Justices.

ed of his father's jealousy and penetration, to give it vent; he therefore pretended, that he was under religious engagements to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. Jago in Spain, and earnestly entreated his father to suffer him to repair thither. Henry penetrated into his son's intentions, and thought it equally dangerous totally to refuse or comply with his request; he, how-

O 2

ever,

V.

Justices,

Shires,

Ralph Fitz-Stephen,
William Rufus,
Gilbert Pipard.

{

Wiltshire,
Dorsetshire,
Somersetshire,
Devonshire,
Cornwall.

VI.

Justices.

Shires,

Robert de Vans,
Ranulph de Glanville,
Robert Pikenot.

{

Yorkshire,
Richmondshire,
Lancashire,
Copeland (a division in
the north),
Westmoreland,
Northumberland,
Cumberland.

The reader may perceive that this division of the kingdom into counties, does not greatly differ from what still subsists. It is probable that Copeland formed the northern part of Lancashire. The other variations are easily seen.

ever, gave him leave to go to Normandy for some time; but while he waited at Portsmouth for a fair wind, his two younger brothers, Richard and Geoffry, arrived in England. The elder Henry, being then at Winchester, sent for the king his son, and the court kept Easter there with great magnificence. That ceremony being ended, he gave a permission to the young king, and his brother Richard, for raising troops in his French dominions, and reducing the Poitevines, some of whom had joined with his disbanded mercenaries the Brabanders, and had invaded his dominions. The two young princes executed this commission with great success, and soon reduced the rebels to their duty.

Henry perceiving that, in this year 1176, a great abuse had crept in through the non-execution of that plan of government which he had laid down in the beginning of his reign, he now resumed it, and about Michaelmas held a parliament at Windsor, from whence he sent commissioners to inspect the state of the castles through the kingdom. Their instructions were, to seize for the king's use all the castles which had been built upon the demesnes of the crown, or were held by barons or others not properly qualified; and especially all forts
which

which had been erected since the beginning of the late troubles, either for him or against him.

Under any other prince but Henry, this measure might have been attended with great difficulties in the execution; but he well knew how to make himself obeyed; and proceeded with so much resolution, that he even took a castle from his favourite, Richard de Lucy. He caused the same measure to be put in execution in Normandy. But not contented with a bare seizure or resumption, he wisely reduced the expences of his government, and averted all danger, by ordering the castles which stood on the most disaffected parts of England and Normandy, to be demolished.

Gilbert, prince of Galloway, repaired to the same council, with a safe conduct from the king of the Scots. This prince had ever claimed a kind of independence upon the crown of Scotland; but that crown itself now submitting to England, he swore fealty to Henry, and gave him a thousand marks of silver as an atonement for his brother's murder, leaving at Henry's court his son Duncan, as an hostage for his good behaviour.

At this time Henry's reputation was very high all over Europe; and William, king
O 3 of

of Sicily, was negotiating, by the bishops of France and others, a marriage with Henry's daughter, the princess Joanna of England.

An affair of this importance, Henry thought required the deliberation of a public council; he therefore summoned together a parliament at London, by whom the proposal was approved. Henry sent her over with a magnificent retinue, having first settled the marriage terms, which the king of Sicily confirmed by a solemn charter, sent to Henry by a bishop.

We are now to attend a scene which this year opened in Ireland. The gallant Raymond, having greatly reduced those tumultuous islanders, was advancing his conquests in Cork, where he received from his wife a billet, which discovers that she was a lady of great wit and judgment. It was as follows: "Know, my dear lord, that
 " my great cheek-tooth, which used to ach
 " so much, is now fallen out; wherefore,
 " if you have any care or regard of me, or
 " of yourself, come away with all speed."

Raymond immediately apprehending the meaning of his wife, perceived that her brother Strongbow was dead, that the posture of affairs required his immediate presence, and that it might be of dangerous

ous consequence should Strongbow's death be known. He returned immediately to Limeric, which, not having an army sufficient to garrison it, he delivered up in trust to Donald prince of Thomond, who had sworn fealty to the English government, and was one of the best soldiers among the Irish princes. But no sooner had the English passed the bridge, in their march to Dublin, than Donald set fire to the city in four different places, and ordered part of the bridge to be broken down, to prevent the English from returning.

Raymond saw Donald's proceedings, but found himself under a necessity of continuing his march to Dublin, where he arrived about the beginning of June. Here the funeral of Strongbow * was celebrated with

* Giraldus Cambriensis has left us the character of Strongbow. He tells us, that he was generous and gentle, and had great command of persuasive language; that in peace he was rather submissive than assuming, and had more of the soldier about him than of the general; that he never did any thing without the advice of his friends, ever forbearing, even in the field, all singularity in obstinacy or presumption; but, after he was engaged, determined and resolute: in either fortune of war, unchangeable; neither suffering himself to be overwhelmed by adversity, or too much elevated by prosperity. The following remarkable story, concerning the death of his son, will perhaps be acceptable to our readers. His son, a youth of no more than

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with great pomp and magnificence. His tomb is yet to be seen, together with that of his sons, in Christ-church Dublin.

The news of Strongbow's death, as may be imagined, was by no means disagreeable to Henry. He instantly sent over William Fitz-Adelm to receive the government from Raymond, to whom it had been intrusted ever since the death of Strongbow. He was received by Raymond with great regard. He had with him, as assistants in his commission, Courcy, Fitzstephens, and Cogan. Raymond resigned into Fitz-Adelm's hands all the forts, cities, and hostages belonging to the English in Ireland.

The year 1177, was begun by the siege of Auxé, in France, by prince Richard, which was defended by its viscount; but he was obliged to surrender the place in ten days after the siege was formed. Ten days afterwards Bayonne fell into the hands of Richard; and his ambition led him to

push than seventeen years of age, upon a certain occasion, fled from an army of the Irish, as they were advancing to battle; but hearing that they had been beaten by his father, he returned, and mingled with others in congratulating the success of the day. Strongbow, however, thinking that the reproach of cowardice was indelable, pronounced sentence that the youth should suffer death, by being cut asunder in the middle with a sword; which was instantly executed.

push his good fortune even to the frontiers of Spain, where he obtained some conquests; and obliged the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and forts to swear, that they would keep peace with the king his father. Mean time, the younger Henry reduced the castle of Doles.

Henry was now admired and revered all over Europe: his abilities were superior to envy; his power was above the reach of insult; and he now gained more conquests by his clemency, than by his arms.

While Henry's two sons were extending his power on the continent, the king of France sought to contract an important alliance with the earl of Flanders, from whom he demanded his two nieces, daughters of his brother Matthew, earl of Bulloign, in marriage, for his son Philip, and for the earl of Blois.

The uncle, however splendid the French proposals were, durst not venture to conclude a matter of such importance, without previously acquainting Henry; he therefore sent over ambassadors to Henry, who laid their master's commission before him and his peers. But Henry had entered into engagements with this politic earl and his deceased brother, and the ambassadors insisted on his performing them at the
same

same time. Henry, unwilling either to offend or to gratify the earl in performing obligations which had been forced upon him in his distresses, returned an evasive answer, giving the earl to understand that he was ready to fulfil all his engagements, provided the latter did not dispose of his nieces in marriage without Henry's approbation: he shortly after sent over two ambassadors, Walter de Constance, and Ranulph de Glanville, to treat farther with the earl, who swore that he would not dispose of his nieces in marriage without Henry's consent.

An affair of a very extraordinary nature now came before Henry, as the sole arbitrator. His son-in-law, Alphonso, king of Castile, and Sancho, king of Navarre, had been long at variance. But so great was the reputation of Henry's wisdom and justice, that notwithstanding his relation to Alphonso, Sancho had no objection to receiving him as the final judge of their differences. Accordingly, towards the close of the year 1176, a compromise had been entered into by both those princes, by which they each pledged some castles, as sureties for their abiding by Henry's word in the differences between them. The ambassadors soon arrived; their trains were
numerous,

numerous, and they were guarded both by literary and warlike champions, not knowing whether the court of England might not chuse to refer the question to the success of single combat.

Having laid before Henry their credentials, he, not chusing to take upon himself a determination of such importance, summoned a full meeting of his parliament, to be held in Westminster-Hall, on the first Sunday in Lent. The appearance was very august, and the assembly numerous. Henry himself presided, and, after the advocates had given in their respective claims, he ordered the ambassadors on both sides to be solemnly sworn, that their masters should abide by his judgment; and that if they should not, the ambassadors were to surrender their own persons into Henry's hands. The facts being fully stated, and the evidences examined, the parliament at length gave judgment, which was exemplified by way of charter, under Henry's seal, and addressed to the two kings.

The judgment was to the following effect: that since neither party could contradict the allegations of the other, with respect to the castles and territories which
each

• Rymer, vol. i. p. 48.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 43.

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each had seized, therefore the king of Navarre should restore to the king of Castile all the castles which the former had seized during the minority of the latter; and that the king of Castile should restore to the king of Navarre the three castles which he had taken by way of reprisal. That Sancho should pay to Alphonso three thousand Narbitteens * for ten years; and that the truce between them should continue for seven years.

This instrument was signed by several of the English nobility, gentry, and clergy; and contains a proof how well Henry knew to reign, by establishing his throne upon a constitutional foundation, in proceeding according to the advice of his parliament.

The earl of Flanders this year came to England, and about Easter had an interview with Henry at Canterbury, where he visited the tomb of the sainted Becket. Upon parting, Henry made the earl a present of five hundred marks, towards defraying his charges in an expedition the latter had undertaken to the Holy Land. Afterwards Henry summoned the archbishop of York, and some of his northern nobility, in order to concert the means of securing the peace of the north, at Gaiting-
ton;

* A Spanish coin.

tin*; where proper measures being concerted, Henry, after receiving oaths of fealty from several Welch princes, ordered a parliament to assemble at Windsor. A full meeting of all the states being here convened, the king commanded them by the feudal subjection, to prepare to attend him with horse and arms, whensoever he should require their services †.

At the same time he took the necessary precautions for securing the peace of the North, by making such alterations and removals, both in England, and the cautionary forts of Scotland, as might the most effectually secure them in his interest.

Henry next repaired to Oxford, where he nominated his son John king of Ireland, in the same sense that the heads of the Irish confederacy had hitherto worn that title; by which there was no necessity for supposing that John held any lands or dominions

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P

minions

* Supposed to be Gaitown in Cheshire.

† Nothing appearing upon the face of the English History, that could give rise to so extraordinary a measure, it was probably done with the double view of striking terror into his secret enemies in France, and of habituating his subjects to service in the field, from which, perhaps, he thought they had been too long exempted,

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minions in Ireland *. But Henry, ever since the death of Strongbow, had meditated how to make the acquisition of this kingdom a solid advantage to his other territories. He therefore distributed the property of Ireland among those who were most likely to reduce it to a thorough subjection to his crown and family. Robert Fitzstephens and Miles Cogan were rewarded according to their great merits in the first expedition into this country; for they had for the service of sixty knights, all the kingdom of Corke, excepting the city of that name, and its adjoining hundred. Philip de Bruce had the kingdom of Limerick, and the earl of Chester had all his estate restored to him, excepting some dangerous forts which Henry kept in his own hands, on condition of his going over and assisting in the entire reduction of Ireland.

Some time before this a marriage had been negotiated and agreed upon between Richard, Henry's second son, and Alice, daughter to the king of France. The young lady,

* The former kings of this title never acquired any possessions by it, their dominion being confined to their patrimonial territories; therefore John was entitled to wear this distinction, though without any property in the soil.

lady had been some time in England; and the elder Henry, as much captivated with her beauty, as she was with his merit, entered into a correspondence with her, which, at length, was attended by the fruits of a criminal, and almost incestuous conversation. The king of France grew uneasy at the frivolous pretext for delaying the consummation of the marriage, and, upon the first surmise of the amour, had engaged the pope, on his side, to interpose the spiritual thunder, should Henry any longer delay to give up the young lady to his son's embraces *. But Henry, by advice of his clergy and council, appealed to the pope himself; and disappointment irritating the young lady's passion, Henry, in that critical juncture, so fatal to woman's virtue, seems to have compleated his triumph over her honour.

P 2

About

* Henry, perhaps, had not yet proceeded to actual guilt with the young princess; but his passion for her was strongly suspected, and he sought to delay the match, upon pretence that the king her father had not complied with the terms of the marriage. To put the better face upon the matter, he sent ambassadors to Lewis to make the requisition, but he refused it; and the Pope's legate, in the mean time, threatened to fulminate an interdict against Henry and his kingdom, should the consummation of the marriage be any longer deferred.

About this time, an accident happened to Henry, by his receiving a contusion on the leg, from the kick of a horse, which kept him for some time confined; but being conscious of the great provocation he had given to the king of France, he held a general rendezvous of all the English military tenants at Winchester, where they met him according to summons, well armed and prepared to attend him to the continent, either from Portsmouth or Southampton, where transports lay in order to carry them over by Henry's orders. But the hurt he received, and the uncertainty of the answer he expected from France, prevailed with him to delay his expedition till the beginning of July, at which time all his force again attended him at Winchester.

The French court, refusing to comply with Henry's command, he embarked with all his troops at Portsmouth, and landed at Kapwick in Normandy. From thence he dispatched his son Geoffrey, to keep the restless Britons in awe, and he and his eldest son had an interview with the pope's legate at Roan. Soon after this, Henry and the king of France held a conference at Yuric, at which the legate and many of the nobility on both sides assisted. Henry was

was pressed, under pain of the highest ecclesiastical censures, to suffer his son Richard to marry the princess Alice. Henry, unable either to refuse or comply, promised to agree to the match, provided her father would give her in dowry the city of Bourges, and deliver up the French Veuxine to the younger Henry, husband to Margaret the other sister.

These demands had, perhaps, a foundation of right by some private agreement between Henry and Lewis; and the latter, unwilling to comply with them, declined insisting upon the marriage *. This was an unnatural proceeding; especially as, upon this occasion, the two kings entered into a definitive alliance, without any provision being made for the unfortunate princess †.

P 3

This

* Gervase Hovedam.

† The terms of the treaty were in substance as follows, viz. 1. That both kings should take upon them the cross. 2. Mutually to assist each other. 3. To abolish all disputes with each other, excepting in some trifling matters, which were referred to arbiters on both sides. 4. That in case of the decease of either party, the survivor should have the whole command of the expedition. 5. That in case both should die, proper persons should be named to command upon their demise. 6. That the governors, who were to act during their absence, on both sides, should be instructed to defend each other against all enemies.

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This was designed by Henry as the surest way to keep the see of Rome quiet, and to prevent, during his life, any disturbance from France; for he never intended to take upon him the expedition to the Holy Land.

Soon after this, he summoned his troops to attend him at Argenton, and sent his son Richard to Poictou, as he had his son Henry some time before to Berry, where his success was but indifferent. He then prosecuted several of his subjects in the Limousin, for the part they had taken in the late troubles between his sons and him; and, after compromising some differences with the king of France, he went to Grammont. Here he bought the county of March from Adebart, its earl, to whom he promised to pay fifteen thousand Anjevine pounds, twenty palfreys, and twenty mules. From thence he returned to Anjou, where he kept his Christmas.

We shall now attend to the affairs in Ireland. Soon after Fitz-Adelm had entered upon his government, Hugh de Lacy, an active English officer, was murdered by an Irishman. Philip de Breuse was introduced

mies. 7. That tradesmen, merchants, and others, with their effects, should be free from all molestation in the dominions of either party.

duced to his new government, the kingdom of Limerick, by Fitz-Stephens and Cogan; but, upon their approach, the inhabitants set fire to their houses; which gave de Breuse so great a disgust, that he chose to return to Corke, rather than to reside with such barbarians.

* Fitz-Adelm's government, at this time, by his avarice and oppression, his sloth and inactivity, was grown so despicable both to the English and the Irish, that there was great danger of a total revolt of all Ireland. Courcy, a vigilant and gallant officer, no longer able to bear such mismanagement, resolved to venture upon a bold measure, which was to head the English forces without any commission from Fitz-Adelm, and attack the kingdom of Ulster. Twenty-two knights, and three hundred men at arms, immediately put themselves under Courcy's command, and with this handful of men he attacked Downe, the capital of Ulster. This place was held by Dunleve, its petty chief, who, upon the approach of the English, fled; and Courcy, entering the city, began to erect in it a small fort for his own defence. But the fort and city being soon after attacked by Roderic and Dunleve, at the head of ten thousand Irish, he made a sally, and obliged the Irish to retire, after

an

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an obstinate resistance *. Courcy, after this, fought four other battles, against a very great superiority of numbers on the side of the Irish. The first was under the walls of Downe, where he defeated fifteen thousand of the enemy. The second was in Ferns, where he was at first beaten; but he and Armoric de St. Laurence, rallying their men, fell upon the Irish, and destroyed them all except about two hundred. The third battle was in Uriel, where, having passed a river by the direction of a friar, he attacked six thousand Irish, and, after running the risk of being cut off with all his men, overcame the enemy. The fourth and last battle was at the bridge of Ivory, where the enemy again fled. After this, the Irish in those parts were so discouraged, that Courcy had leisure to erect forts, and take other precautions for the safety of the English government.

Mean time Miles Cogan passed the Shannon, and invaded Connaught, with forty knights, two hundred horsemen, and three hundred archers. Advancing up the country, he found it laid waste, and abandoned by the inhabitants. Being therefore obliged to return for want of provision, he was attacked in his retreat by Roderic, who failed in

* Hammer, Cox.

in his attempt, and Cogān and his men escaped to Dublin.

Fitz-Adelm's conduct was now become too insupportable to be endured, and Henry was prevailed upon to recall him. Another, Hugh de Lacy, was substituted in his room, and Robert Poer was made governor of Wexford and Waterford. Soon after, Vivian, the pope's legate, who had been some time in Ireland, held a synod at Dublin, which was very serviceable to the English affairs, by thundering out an excommunication against all those who should swerve from the allegiance they had sworn.

In the year 1178, Henry, the elder, obtained a passport from the king of France to return to England. He remained, however, for some time, to see the event of his son Richard's arms, which were still employed in Poictou. This young prince had, with surprizing rapidity, again penetrated as far as the borders of Spain, where he took several important places, some of which he dismantled, some he destroyed, and some he fortified. About the beginning of July, Henry the elder returned to England, where he knighted his son Geoffrey.

In the beginning of the year 1179, the younger Henry was in Normandy, and his brother Richard in Poictou; but the former
re-

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returned to England about Easter. Lewis now thought of resigning his crown to his son Philip; but that young prince being taken ill on the day appointed for his coronation, his father undertook a pilgrimage, for his recovery, to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. Other motives, perhaps, besides those of devotion, contributed to this journey. He was, however, closely watched here by the elder Henry, who, out of seeming respect, was continually about his person; and after four days stay in England, he returned to France, having been very generous to the monks of Canterbury, where he had most religiously performed his devotions. It is probable that Henry the younger accompanied him back to France; for we find him, as duke of Normandy, assisting at the feast of All Saints at Rheims, in the coronation of young Philip, now perfectly recovered from his malady.

While Lewis was settling his succession, Henry the elder was regulating his government. As he had for some time made it a rule to ask the advice of his parliament, he felt the happy effects of this conduct, in the prosperous condition both of his own revenue and the circumstances of his people.

Richard de Lucy had long been Henry's first minister, and a minister who had distinguished

tinguished himself as a man of probity and virtue. He had always had the courage to remonstrate severely, when Henry aimed at any arbitrary act of government; and Henry had ever had the virtue to continue the minister, however his pride or passion might be disgusted with the man. He found the effects of his salutary councils, and that the surest method to preserve his own power, was to secure the people's rights. But de Lucy was now stooping under the weight of years and cares, and therefore chose to retire as a canon regular, to an abbey at Lewes of his own founding.

Upon the resignation of de Lucy, Henry held a great council of his states at Windsor, where he made a new partition of the judges circuits all over England, dividing the whole into four parts, and assigning judges to each.*

Lewis,

* The circuits were divided, and the judges appointed, as follow :

I.

Judges.

Richard, bishop of Winchester,
Richard, the king's treasurer,
Nicholas Fitz-Torold,
Thomas Basset,
Robert Whitefield.

Shires.

Hampshire,
Wiltshire,
Gloucestershire,
Dorsetshire,
Somersetshire,
Devonshire,
Cornwall,
Berkshire,
Oxfordshire.

Judges,

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Lewis, king of France, being now upon his death-bed, his anointed son Philip, afterwards

II.

Judges.

Geoffry, bishop of Ely,
Nicholas, the king's chaplain,
Gilbert Pipard,
Reginald de Wickbach, the king's clerk,
Geoffry Hosea.

Shires.

Cambridgeshire,
Huntingdonshire,
Northamptonshire,
Leicestershire,
Warwickshire,
Worcestershire,
Herefordshire,
Staffordshire,
Shropshire.

III.

Judges.

John, bishop of Norwich.
Hugh Murdac, the king's clerk,
Michael Belet,
Richard del Pec,
Ranulph Brito,

Shires.

Norfolk,
Suffolk,
Essex,
Hertfordshire,
Middlesex,
Kent,
Surrey,
Sussex,
Buckinghamshire,
Bedfordshire,

IV.

Judges.

Godfrey de Lucy,
John Cummin,
Hugh de Gaerft,
Ranulph de Glanville,
William de Bendings,
Allen de Furnellis.

Shires.

Nottinghamshire,
Derbyshire,
Yorkshire,
Northumberland,
Westmoreland,
Cumberland,
Lancaster.

None of our historians have ever assigned any reason for the alteration of the divisions.

wards named Augustus, took upon him the government. This prince, possessing a greater share of wisdom and spirit than his father, set out upon a different plan of government, and made Philip, earl of Flanders, his first minister. This earl, having no issue, bestowed one of his nieces upon Philip, and settled upon her a large portion of his dominions; but, being of an arbitrary and haughty disposition, he prevailed upon the young prince to turn his own mother, and her family, out of the administration.

The younger Henry was then at the court of France, and not at all satisfied with the revolution of that ministry. The queen dowager, and her relations, applied to him, and he undertook to bring his father to head their party. For this purpose he went over to England; and the elder Henry was so well pleased with the proposal, that he and his son gave the queen of France, and her brothers earl Theobald and earl Stephen, a meeting in Normandy, before Easter, in the year 1180.

Immediately after this, the elder Henry raised an army; but was opposed by Philip, before he made any progress. Henry, being thus disappointed, consented to a conference between Gisors and Trie; where he

had the address to detach the earl of Flanders from the chief administration of affairs, and to make up matters between Philip, his mother, and her family. At this conference, Henry renewed his convention with the earl of Flanders; and that nobleman, upon being paid one thousand marks yearly, did homage to Henry, and engaged to furnish him with five hundred knights for forty days, whenever required.*

The insolent spirit of the queen, after she was restored to her son's favour, presently disgusted the earl of Flanders, who opened a scene of fresh difficulties to the French government, by engaging the family of the queen, and the duke of Burgundy, a powerful peer of France, to favour his designs.

During these intrigues at the court of France, Henry, duke of Saxony, son-in-law to the king of England, having been exiled by the emperor for seven years, and driven to seek refuge at the court of Normandy, Henry now interceded for his pardon; and his

* Hoveden, and most of our other historians, have referred the peace which was signed by the two kings, to the September following; but it appears, from the date of it as published by Rymer, that it was made at the latter end of June, and during the life of old Lewis, who died on the eighteenth of September following.

HENRY II. 1181

his intercessions being seconded by the pope and the king of France, the emperor was prevailed upon to remit four years out of the seven.

Henry then provided for the due administration of justice in England, by appointing Ranulph de Glanville to be chief justiciary of all England. This eminent lawyer strictly adhered to the laws of Edward the confessor, collected in the time of the conqueror. To this great man is attributed that ancient treatise upon the laws and customs of England, so celebrated among our lawyers to this day. The courts of justice began now to proceed by forms favourable to the subject, without being inconvenient for the government. The public money, which had suffered great adulterations, was now recoined, and the severity of the law was executed against all debasers of the current specie, which was put under the inspection of Philip Aymari, a native of Tours.

Henry the elder, about the beginning of the year 1181, being about to leave France to return to England, published a regulation, prescribing the form and quality of arms to be worn by all his French subjects, according to their respective degrees. The king of France, and the earl of Flanders, adopted

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adopted the same prudent measure. While Henry lay at Barfleur, waiting for a fair wind, Philip applied to him to mediate between him and the earl, concerning some differences between them. Henry complied with his request, and in a conference at Gisors made them friends. Towards the latter end of August, Henry landed in England, attended by the king of the Scots, whom he had summoned to meet him in Normandy, to settle some ecclesiastical matters, which soon after drew an excommunication upon all the Scotch dominions.

Henry, on his return to England, published what is called an assize concerning arms, which contains the substance of the military policy of that time.* It was in substance as follows.

I. Whosoever hath a knight's fee, shall have a coat of mail, an helmet, a shield, and a lance; and every knight shall have so many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he hath knight's fees.

II. Every free layman, that hath in goods or rents to the value of sixteen marks, shall have a coat of mail, an helmet, a shield, and a lance.

III. Every free layman, that hath in goods ten marks, shall have an iron gorget, an iron cap, and a lance.

IV.

* Hoveden, Brady.

IV. All burgesſes, and the whole community of freemen, ſhall have a wambois (that is, a coat twilted with wool, tow, or ſuch other materials), a cap of iron, and a lance.

And every one ſhall ſwear, that before the feaſt of St. Hiliary he will have theſe arms, and will be faithful to king Henry, the ſon of Maud the empreſs; and that he will keep theſe arms for his ſervice, according to his command, for the defence of the king and kingdom; and no man ſhall ſell, pawn, or lend theſe arms. When the poſſeſſor dies, they ſhall deſcend to his heir; and if his heir be too young to uſe arms, his guardian ſhall have the care of them, and till the heir is of age ſhall provide a proper perſon to uſe them in the ſervice of the king. No Jew ſhall have a coat of mail, or a jerkin of mail, in his cuſtody; but may ſell, or give, or otherwiſe part with it, for the ſervice of the king. No man ſhall ſend or carry arms out of the kingdom, but by the king's command. Thoſe who do not comply with theſe articles, ſhall be puniſhed in their limbs or members, and not by taking from them their lands or goods; and none ſhall be upon the jury, but ſuch as are worth ten or ſixteen marks. Alſo, that no man ſhall

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buy or sell any ship to be sent out of England; nor shall he carry, or cause to be carried, any timber out of England. And the king commands, that none be received to the oath of arms but a freeman.

These excellent regulations discover many important particulars of the English military œconomy in those days, and shew us that Henry was sensible of this great truth, that the proportion of property which each subject enjoyed, should be the direction to a government, as to that proportion, both of trust and expence, which he ought to have in the service and defence of his country. We also discover here, the great jealousy of Henry's government against employing the shipping, or wood of England, in foreign parts; a plain proof that even in his reign, the English were sensible of the prodigious advantages they had over their neighbours in naval affairs.

While Henry was employing himself in these regulations, Hugh de Lacy continued to govern Ireland with great prudence. His chief care was to secure the English, and to bestow such encouragement on the Irish as to tempt them to be industrious, that his master might not reign over a depopulated, waste, and a barbarous people. But his great merit served only to feed the jealousy
of

of those who envied him. What contributed to their jealousy, was his marrying, without leave from the court of England, the daughter of Roderic, king of Connaught. He was therefore obliged to yield to the malice that was raised against him, and was recalled; John, the constable of Chester, and Richard del Pec, being appointed his successors. But Henry was presently convinced that their abilities were far inferior to those of their predecessor, and quickly restored him to his government; joining with him, in the commission, Robert de Shrewsbury, a clerk, who was to act as his coadjutor and counsellor.

The year 1181 was distinguished by the death of two great priests, pope Alexander III, and Roger archbishop of York.*

In the beginning of the year 1182, the younger Henry was, with his queen, at the court of France, where they began again to be uneasy at their father's conduct; yet, by the elder Henry's concessions, they were for some time allayed, and the young prince took a further oath of duty to his father.

About this time the emperor gave Henry a signal proof of regard, by suffering his daughter,

* Roger, archbishop of York, died so immensely rich, that Henry thought proper to seize his treasures, pretending that his will was made upon his death-bed.

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daughter, the dutchess of Saxony, to enjoy her jointure even in her husband's life-time.

The ambition and filial-disrespect of Henry's sons, encreased with their years: the most refractory of them all was Richard; and the elder Henry sought how to divide him from his brothers, by giving them all different appenrages, well knowing that separately they were not formidable. The younger Henry had joined with the nobility of Aquitaine, who were in arms against Richard's government; for Richard had seized upon the castle of Clervalle, part of the younger Henry's patrimonial estate of Anjou.

The elder Henry, while he was in England, made his will; wherein, among other pious donations, he assigned a large sum of money to the religious houses at Jerusalem; but made no mention of the settlement of his dominions. This he intended should take place in his own life-time. With this view, towards the end of the year 1182, he went over to France, where he kept his Christmas in a very splendid manner at Caen, attended by his sons, the younger Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, his daughter, the dutchess of Saxony, and her husband. He was no stranger to the variance between his

his two elder sons, and embraced this opportunity of endeavouring to compromise all differences between them. He ordered his son Geoffrey to do homage, in terms of the former dukes of Brittany, to his elder brother as duke of Normandy, for that duchy. At the same time he ordered Richard to pay homage to his elder brother, for the duchy of Aquitaine. The younger Henry told his father, that though he did accept of the homage, he should not think himself absolved from his engagements with the barons of Aquitaine, who were in arms against the oppressions of his brother, whom, as his superior, he had a right to chastise.

The haughty spirit of Richard was highly incensed at this reply, and broke out into very passionate expressions, which highly incensed his father. In consequence of this, Richard retired from court, and put himself in a posture of defence. The elder Henry then ordered his two sons Henry and Geoffrey, to advance with an army against Richard. Henry, however, entered into a correspondence with the commander of the strong castle of Limoges. A confederacy was then entered into between Geoffrey, the barons of Aquitaine, and the younger Henry, which was to be kept a profound secret from their father, till their affairs were ripe for action.

Thus

Thus was this unhappy family divided into three parties, that of the old king, that of Richard, and that of his sons Henry and Geoffrey. Henry and Geoffrey, being too powerful for Richard, compelled him to throw himself into his father's protection, to whom he delivered up the disputed castle of Clervalle : whereupon the elder Henry, not being acquainted with the rebellion of his two other sons, summoned them all to meet at Mirabel, that a general reconciliation might be effected. The princes obeyed ; but the younger Henry still insisted upon satisfaction for the barons of Aquitaine, whom he could not in honour desert, without procuring them previous terms, and who otherwise refused to be parties at the agreement : Geoffrey was therefore sent by his father to engage that they should have all imaginable justice done them.

Geoffrey, perceiving that the affair was now come to a crisis, could dissemble no longer. He openly espoused the cause of the disaffected barons, and took into his pay a body of those mercenary Brabantins, who had been so exasperated with his father.

The younger Henry, considering the danger he was in at his father's court, sought leave to have an interview with his brother, whom he pretended he could bring to reason ; to which the elder Henry, unwilling
or

or unable to hinder his departure, consented.

Soon after this, Geoffrey and the younger Henry entered the castle of Limoges, and, shutting the gates, declared against their father. Henry, not believing his sons could act so unnaturally, went in a peaceable manner, attended by his son Richard, and summoned the castle; but he was presently convinced of his mistake by a shower of arrows, several of which fell upon his coat of mail, and narrowly missed his heart.

Henry again and again threw himself at his father's feet, and as often was he pardoned: but the sense of the engagements he had entered into with the barons, together with the inflexibility of his father in every thing that touched his power and prerogative, as often made him swerve from his promises. Neither of these princes are to be vindicated; for Henry the elder still kept in his own hands the castle of Clervalle; and still continued deaf to all terms with the barons, but that they should surrender at discretion. At length, however, the younger Henry prevailed upon his father to promise a pardon, upon their delivering hostages. But the barons demanded redress, not pardon: they held out for right, and not for mercy. They disdained the
terms,

terms, murdered the messengers sent to receive the hostages, and called upon the younger Henry to fulfil his solemn engagements.

The younger Henry, irresolute, and ashamed of his weakness in so often changing sides, at first vowed to take upon him the cross, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his father, who indeed tenderly loved him, and at last agreed to his resolution; but the shame of abandoning his party again got the better of the young prince, and he again revolted from his duty. Geoffrey, in the mean time, behaved with great dissimulation. While his brother continued firm to his engagements, he refused to hearken to any terms: but afterwards, on a pretence of a conference with his brother, he got leave from his father to go into Limoges, where he stripped a shrine of its riches, with which he paid his soldiers. The elder Henry, still continuing faithfully attached to his own interest as a king, suffered many pangs as a father. The younger Henry, in the fluctuation between nature and honour, fell sick of a fever, which, being attended with a bloody-flux, put a period to his days*.

Though

* The younger Henry, perceiving himself beyond all hopes of recovery, sent to desire the king his father

Though the older Henry appeared inconsolable for the loss of his son, yet he carried

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on

ther to come to him, that he might beg pardon for his great undutifulness; but he, afraid of those who were about the younger Henry's person, only sent him his blessing, together with his ring in token of his pardon; which, having received, he called to him the bishops and other religious men that were near him, and first in private, and then in public, confessed his great sin in rebelling against so indulgent a father: and then, after absolution, putting on sack-cloth, and causing a rope to be tied about his neck, with very penitent expressions, he entreated the bishops, and others then present, to pull him out of the bed to a couch, or pallet, hard by, which he had ordered to be made of ashes; and being laid thereon, and having received the Eucharist, he expired. When his servants had embalmed his body, and wrapped it in bull-hides, they put it in a leaden coffin, and buried his brains and bowels at Castle-Martel, where he died: then they carried the corps towards the city of Rouen, to be there interred, according to his last will. But while they, by the way, rested at the city of Mans, and placed the corps in the cathedral church of St. Julian, the bishops, clergy, and people of that city would not suffer it to be taken way, but to shew their affection to the deceased prince, there honourably buried it. But when the people of Rouen heard of it, they were much incensed, and threatned, that unless the body was speedily delivered to them, they would come and take it away by force. The king, being informed of this, commanded the corps to be taken up again, and delivered to the people of Rouen, according to his last will, which was accordingly done, and the body was buried there in the church of St. Mary. *Tyrrel,*

on the siege of the castle of Limoges so vigorously, that it was at last surrendered; and the other places, held by the disaffected, followed its fate. Geoffrey was therefore obliged to submit, and Henry seemed once more to have faction at his feet. Soon after he had an interview with the French king, who demanded back the dowry of his sister, wife to the deceased Henry, which was the French euline, and its dependencies. But Henry, not choosing to part with territory, gave her an equivalent in money, amounting to about three thousand pounds yearly. We likewise find that Henry, about this time, did homage to Philip, for his transmarine dominions.

These transactions detained Henry in France till about June 1184. By this time Philip of Worcester had superceded John of Chester, and Richard Pec, in the lieutenancy of Ireland, and had re-annexed large quantities of land to the royal demesnes. John, Henry's youngest son, was daily expected in that country, with a fresh supply of money and troops; but Henry's affairs were so embroiled on the continent, that Philip was obliged to subsist upon the contributions he raised in the country, and particularly from the clergy of Armagh.

Soon after Henry's return to England, the agreement between him and his sons

was ratified in the presence of their mother Eleanor, who had all this time continued a prisoner of state. Henry then set out to chastise the insolence of the Welsh, who had committed many outrages during the several times he was absent in Normandy; but having proceeded to Worcester, Rees, prince of South-Wales, made his submission.

Henry's engagements to go to the Holy Land, seemed all this time to be forgotten or neglected. He was again in great credit abroad; and the duke and dutchess of Saxony were this year reconciled to the archbishop of Cologne, who, with the earl of Flanders, came to England, and were magnificently entertained by Henry. This reconciliation had been effected, in a great measure, by the mediation of the pope; and about the beginning of the year 1185, Henry received a letter, by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the great masters of the knights templars and hospitallers, who came as ambassadors from Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, not only to invite him to take the cross, but to offer him the diadem of that unprofitable kingdom.

Henry was making a progress the North of England, when these ambassadors arrived; and returning immediately to Reading, he gave them an audience, and re-

ceived from the patriarch the keys of the holy sepulchre, and the royal banner of Jerusalem, which he re-delivered into the hands of the patriarch, until he should have consulted the prelates and nobility of his kingdom. For this purpose he summoned a great council of the nation to meet on the first Sunday in Lent, at Clerkenwell, in London, where William, king of Scotland, with his bishops and barons, attended; and the matter being thoroughly canvassed, it was the general opinion of the assembly, that Henry could not accept the crown of Jerusalem, nor go on an expedition to the Holy Land, without endangering the safety of the kingdom. Henry offered to send by the patriarch a large supply of money; but this was not such an effectual relief, as the assistance and countenance of a prince of the house of Anjou. They therefore desired that, as Henry could not go in person, he would, at least, send one of his sons; and John, throwing himself at his father's feet, earnestly begged he might be employed in that service. But Henry was too fond of his children to comply with such a proposal, and besides he had already projected that prince's armament for the conquest of Ireland: however, as he was unwilling to provoke the ambassadors by a flat refusal, he

he deferred coming to a final resolution, till he should have consulted with the king of France about the matter ; for which purpose he set out with the patriarch for Normandy : and the two kings having had a conference upon the subject at Vandreuil, agreed to send large supplies of men and money, but neither of them would go in person.

Henry, besides the danger he had reason to apprehend from the ambitious views of Lewis, had another reason for declining an expedition to Palestine. His own family was still divided by dissensions, which might, in his absence, have made his dominions scenes of blood and desolation. Richard, in the beginning of the year, had left England with his father's consent, and returned to Guienne, where he was no sooner arrived, than, forgetting the oath he had lately taken, he fortified his castles, and invaded Geoffrey's territories of Bretagne. Henry was obliged to raise an army to reduce him to obedience ; but, willing to prevent the effusion of blood, he had recourse to an expedient, which as effectually answered the purpose.---Eleanor had been confined in prison ever since the time of the late conspiracy, till her daughter, the dutchess of Saxony, coming into England,

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she was set at liberty, and the king kept a court for them both at Windsor. Henry now sent for her into Normandy, and ordered Richard to restore to her the whole dutchy of Guienne as her inheritance, otherwise he would compel him to do her justice by force of arms. Richard, notwithstanding his haughty and imperious temper, loved his mother with the most sincere affection; and the people of Guienne respected her as the representative of their ancient princes. These motives seemed to have induced him to listen to the advice of his friends, and to deliver Guienne into the hands of her officers; after which he submitted to his father, and took up his residence at the English court.

Richard's behaviour, while he remained at court, was so modest and dutiful, that Henry thought he might trust him again with the government of Guienne; and Raimond, count of Thoulouse, having imprisoned some merchants of that country, the king gave his son a large sum of money, to enable him to procure satisfaction for the injury. According he repaired into Guienne, and raising a numerous army, laid waste the territories of the count, who in vain applied to the court of France for assistance. Philip either did not think it a
favour-

favourable juncture for attacking Henry, or his hands were tied up by the treaty he had lately concluded with the king of England; in which the annuity of his sister Margaret was confirmed together with the contract of marriage between Richard and Adelais; and Philip renounced all the claim which he or his father had to Gisors and its dependencies. Henry having thus secured the peace of his foreign dominions, set sail for England, and, on the twenty-seventh of April, landed at Southampton*.

The first object of his attention, was to establish a firm peace with William, king of Scotland. With this view, having convoked a council at Oxford, he proposed to William, that, as he could not marry the dutchess of Saxony, on account of consanguinity, he would espouse Ermengarde, grand-daughter of Roscelin, viscount of Beaumont Le Roger, and Constance, natural daughter of Henry I. king of England. William having consulted his council, agreed to the proposal; and while ambassadors were sent for the lady, returned into Scotland, in order to reduce Roland, the son of Uchtred; who, upon the death of his uncle Gilbert, had taken possession of all Galloway. Gilbert had died in the begin-

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beginning of the preceding year ; and Duncan, his son and heir, being then an hostage as the English court under the king's protection, Roland had seized this opportunity of usurping his cousin's dominions; by slaughtering all the barons who ventured to oppose his invasion.

Henry was no sooner informed of this circumstance than he advanced to Carlisle with a numerous army, in order to punish the usurper; but Roland conscious of his own guilt, and dreading the just indignation of Henry, thought proper to submit and swear fealty, on condition of being allowed to enjoy his father's estate, and engaged to stand to the judgment of the king's court, touching his claim to the dominions of Gilbert. The king of Scotland with all his barons, obliged themselves by oath to make war on Roland, should he ever renounce the fealty he had sworn to Henry; and Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, promised to lay him under a sentence of excommunication, till he should make satisfaction to the English monarch. William's marriage with Ermengrade, was solemnized at Woodstock, on the fifth of September; and Henry gave a rent of an hundred marks, with forty knights fees, as a portion to the lady, delivering up, at the same time, the castle of Edin-

Edinburgh, which he had kept ever since the treaty of York.

This alliance was of the greater consequence to Henry, as he was in danger of being involved in fresh troubles by the death of his son Geoffry, which happened a little before the celebration of the marriage. Geoffry was alike remarkable for his pride, perfidy, dissimulation and ingratitude, and had been deeply concerned in all the unnatural rebellions formed against his father. He was extremely fond of military exercises; and his fondness furnished him with a pretext for frequenting the court of France, where tilts and tournaments were much in fashion, though his real design was to enter into a more strict connexion with Philip. He had lately desired his father to give him the county of Anjou, but his elder brother Richard refusing to consent to such an alienation, he had met with a flat denial. Incensed at this repulse, he retired to the court of France, and offered to hold Bretagne in vassalage of Philip, and renounce all allegiance to his father, provided the French king would supply him with an army to invade Normandy. But providence cut him off in the midst of those treacherous designs. He was unhorsed in a tournament; and (as his pride and obstinacy would not allow

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allow him to yield to the victor) he was trodden under foot, and bruised in such a manner, that he fell ill of a fever, which carried him off in a few days after. " This " child of perdition" (as he was usually called on account of his undutiful behaviour) died on the nineteenth of August, and was buried in the choir of Notre Dame at Paris, leaving behind him an only daughter, named Eleanor.

The superiority of Bretagne, together with the duchy of Normandy, had been granted to Rollo, and had been enjoyed by him and his descendants. It had been strenuously asserted by William the conqueror, and from his time the dukes of Bretagne had frequently done homage to the kings of England, in right of their duchy of Normandy. Philip had formed a design of re-annexing to his crown all the fiefs that had been alienated by his predecessors; and in pursuance of that plan, he now claimed the custody of Guienne, as lord paramount of the duchy, together with the wardship of the heiress, until she should come of age to be married, and threatened in case of refusal, to make good his claim by force of arms.

Henry, unwilling to involve his dominions in fresh troubles, sent Ralph de Glanville,

ville, Walter de Coutances archbishop of Rouen, and William de Mandeville earl of Essex and Albemarle, as his ambassadors to the French court, and by that means obtained a truce till St. Hilary, which was afterwards prolonged to Easter. What prevented a final accommodation was a rencounter that had lately happened between Henry de Veir governour of Gisors, and Ralph de Vaux a French knight; the latter of whom being killed in the scuffle, Philip had resented his death so highly, that he seized all the effects of Henry's subjects in France; a step which was retaliated by a like seizure of all the chattles of the French in Normandy and Guienne: but on the conclusion of the truce, both parties made restitution. Some disturbances were likewise raised in Brittany by Guiomar de Leon and his brother Herve; but the dutchess Constance being soon after delivered of a posthumous son, who was named Arthur, the Bretons in general were so overjoyed at this event, that the rebellion immediately subsided.

Cardinal Octavian and Hugh Nonant arrived in England during the Christmas-holidays, being sent by the pope, as his legates a latere, to hear and determine causes (if there were any) in which appeals had

had been made to him; a commission which if carried into execution, would have tended greatly to the disgrace and detriment of the kingdom. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been lately vested with the character of legate, considered their arrival as an affront to his dignity, and therefore joined with his suffragans in pressing their departure. He suggested to Henry, that as he was obliged to go abroad to settle affairs with the king of France, he had better carry the legates along with him, to act as mediators in the treaty.

Henry embraced the proposal, and accordingly embarking with the legates, he landed on the seventeenth of February, * at Witsand, where he was met by the counts of Flanders, Blois and Guisnes, who accompanied him to Aumale in Normandy. Soon after he had a conference with Philip at Gué St. Remi; but the demands of the French monarch were so high, that the negotiation broke off, and both parties prepared for hostilities. Henry levied a numerous army, which he divided into four bodies, commanded by the princes Richard and John, the earl of Albemarle and his natural son Geoffry; and these four bodies were detached to defend the different quarters of his dominions.

* A. D. 1187.

Philip

Philip unable to cope with Henry in the field, had recourse to his old arts of perfidy and deceit, by endeavouring to debauch the vassals of the king of England. He tampered with Urse de Fretteval and the count of Nevers, to the last of whom, Henry had lately given in marriage the relict of Eudes d'Yffodun, with the wardship of the heir; a favour which the other repaid by treacherously delivering up the place, and revolting openly to Philip. Encouraged by this success, Philip invaded Berry, and laid siege to Chateauroux; and the princes Richard and John immediately advanced to the relief of the place. The two armies came in sight of each other on Midsummer-Eve, and were drawn up in order of battle, when the legates denounced anathemas, in the pope's name, against him who should first begin the engagement; and by the meditation of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms, a truce for two years was concluded; a measure which Henry embraced the more willingly, as he had reason to suspect some treachery, Richard having lately had a private conference with Philip.

This treaty proved very detrimental to Henry's affairs, as it gave Philip an opportunity of debauching Richard from his allegiance to his father. That monarch invited

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the young prince to Paris, where he treated him with such extraordinary marks of kindness, that Henry began to suspect something was hatching to his prejudice. It soon appeared that his suspicions were but too well founded ; for after having in vain endeavoured to recal Richard from the French court, by promising to gratify him with every thing he could reasonably demand, Richard, instead of complying with the king's request, repaired to Chinon, where he secured the royal treasures ; and then passing into Guienne, fortified his castles, and renounced his allegiance to his father, unless he would immediately consent to his coronation. Henry had smarted so severely from the experiment of that kind, which he had made in favour of his eldest son, that it is not to be supposed he would willingly repeat it in behalf of the passionate and headstrong Richard ; and he therefore refused the proposal. However, as he was unwilling to provoke him by any unnecessary severities, he employed every gentle method to bring him back to his duty. At last the young prince seemed to be sensible of his errors, and, repairing to Angers, submitted to his father, binding himself by a solemn oath that he would never more deviate from his allegiance ; but, notwithstanding

standing this promise, he soon after received the cross from the archbishop of Tours, without the king's consent or knowledge.

Henry, after passing his Christmas at Caen, had proceeded as far as Barfleur in his way to England, when he received intelligence that the king of France threatened to lay waste his dominions, unless he would either restore Gisors, or cause the marriage between Richard and Adalais to be solemnized. He was therefore obliged to postpone his journey, and proposed another conference with Philip, which was held in the usual place, between Trie and Gisors, under a large spreading elm. In this interview, at which prince Richard, and the prelates and nobility of both nations assisted, the archbishop of Tyre gave such a melancholy account of the distressful situation of the Christians in Palestine, as affected the whole audience with pity and compassion; and the two kings, forgetting their quarrels, agreed to a truce, and resolved to turn all their attention towards the relief of those adventurers. They received the cross from the hands of the archbishop, engaging to go thither in person; and their example was followed by the count of Flanders, and a vast number

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of prelates and nobility of both kingdoms. They were to raise the greatest armies they possibly could for the occasion, and each nation was to be distinguished by the colour of its badge; the French by red, the English by white, and the Flemings by green crosses. A plenary indulgence was published in the pope's name, for all who would make a sincere confession of their sins, and embark in the crusade. Certain rules were established for preventing riot, luxury, and other disorders, which had occasioned the miscarriage of former enterprizes of the same nature; and, in order to defray the charges of the war, they imposed a tax (commonly called the saladine tythe) of a tenth upon all rents and chattels belonging to the clergy as well as the laity.

Henry having given orders for levying this tax in his foreign dominions, resolved to go over to England, in order to raise the like collection in that kingdom. With this view he took shipping at Dieppe, and on the thirtieth of January* landed at Winchelsea. Immediately after his arrival, he convoked an assembly of his prelates and nobility at Gedington, where it was agreed to levy a tenth of all rents and moveables, of arms, horses, cloaths, vestments, jewels, and

and of every other commodity except the corn of that year's growth; and this was to extend to Jews as well as Christians, but all those who engaged in the crusade were exempted from the tax, and even permitted to levy a tenth on their tenants and vassals, and to mortgage their own estates for the space of three years. Hugh, bishop of Durham, and some other noblemen, were sent to press the king of Scotland to raise the like collection, and William readily promised to comply with their request. But he soon found that he had promised more than he could perform. For, after having assembled a general convention of all his prelates, earls, barons, and an infinite number of his vassals or free tenants, and laid the matter before them, they boldly rejected the proposal, and flatly refused to give any tenth; declaring, at the same time, that they would never give it, were even the king of England, and their lord the king of Scotland, to swear that they would extort it from them. And indeed they were as good as their word; for neither the remonstrances of William, nor the persuasions of the English ambassadors, could divert them from their fixt resolution: a striking instance of the freedom and independence of the Scotch parliament!

Mean while some disturbances were raised in Guienne, by Aymar count of Engoulesme, Geoffry de Rancone, and Geoffry de Lusignan, who took up arms against Richard, and committed great depredations on his lands; but that prince immediately marched against them, and soon reduced them to obedience. After this he made an incursion into Thoulouse, to revenge some insults he had received from count Raymond, and took one Peter Seilun prisoner, the same who had advised the count to arrest the merchants of Guienne. Raymond, by way of reprisal, seized Robert Poer and Ralph Frazer, two English knights, who were passing through his territories in their return from a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella; and refused to set them at liberty, till Seilun was released. Richard rejected the proposal, as derogatory from the protection of St. James, and the privileges of a pilgrim; and Philip ordered the English knights to be released. But Raymond would not comply; and Richard, in revenge, invaded the count's territories, took Moissac, and seventeen other castles, in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse; so that Raymond was obliged to apply to the king of France for assistance. Philip pretended that he would not engage in the quarrel;
until

until he had apprized the king of England of the proceedings of his son. He therefore sent messengers to England, to prefer a complaint to Henry against the conduct of Richard, and to demand whether or not he had not acted by his advice and direction. Henry returned an answer which might have overwhelmed Philip with shame and confusion, had he had so much virtue remaining as to be capable of being ashamed for his mean and perfidious arts. He told the messengers, that what his son had done, was without his consent or knowledge ; but that Richard had sent him word by the archbishop of Dublin, that all his measures, with regard to the invasion of Thoulouse, had been taken in concert with Philip, and by his advice and persuasion. Philip, finding his plot discovered, thought it needless to retain the mask any longer ; and accordingly, in violation of the oath he had made to maintain a peace till the crusade was finished, he invaded Berry with a numerous army. He had been tampering, for some time, with the barons of this province, in order to debauch them from their allegiance ; and had been so successful in his perfidious arts, that he was received by the nobility with open arms. The towns of Chateauroux, Argentan, and Levroux, with
most

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most of the fortresses in the duchy, were immediately surrendered to the enemy, nothing being left to Henry but Loches and the castles of his own demesnes. Philip made himself master of the greatest part of Auvergne, in the same treacherous manner; and then falling into Touraine, took the castles of Mont-Richard, Buzançais, and Vendome, the last of which was betrayed to him by the governour.

Mean while Henry was intent upon making preparations for the expedition to Palestine. He had employed the archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates, to recommend it in their sermons, as well in Wales as in England. He had sent ambassadors to the emperor of Germany, to persuade him to engage in the crusade; and to Bela, king of Hungary, and Courfac Angeli, emperor of Constantinople, to desire they would supply his forces with provisions, as they passed through their territories. Whilst, therefore, he was thus employed in executing the articles of the agreement which had lately been made between France and England, he could not fail to be surprized when he heard of the hostilities committed by Philip; and though the perfidious conduct of his enemy might have sufficiently justified him in taking the
most

most violent measures for procuring redress, he rather chose to proceed by the more gentle methods of treaty and negociation. Accordingly he dispatched the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Lincoln and Chester, to the court of France, to demand a reason for these hostilities, and to insist upon a full and ample restitution of all the places that had been taken.

The End of the SEVENTH VOLUME.

A.D.A. [illegible] of [illegible], to do
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and to
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ADVERTISEMENT.

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